



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

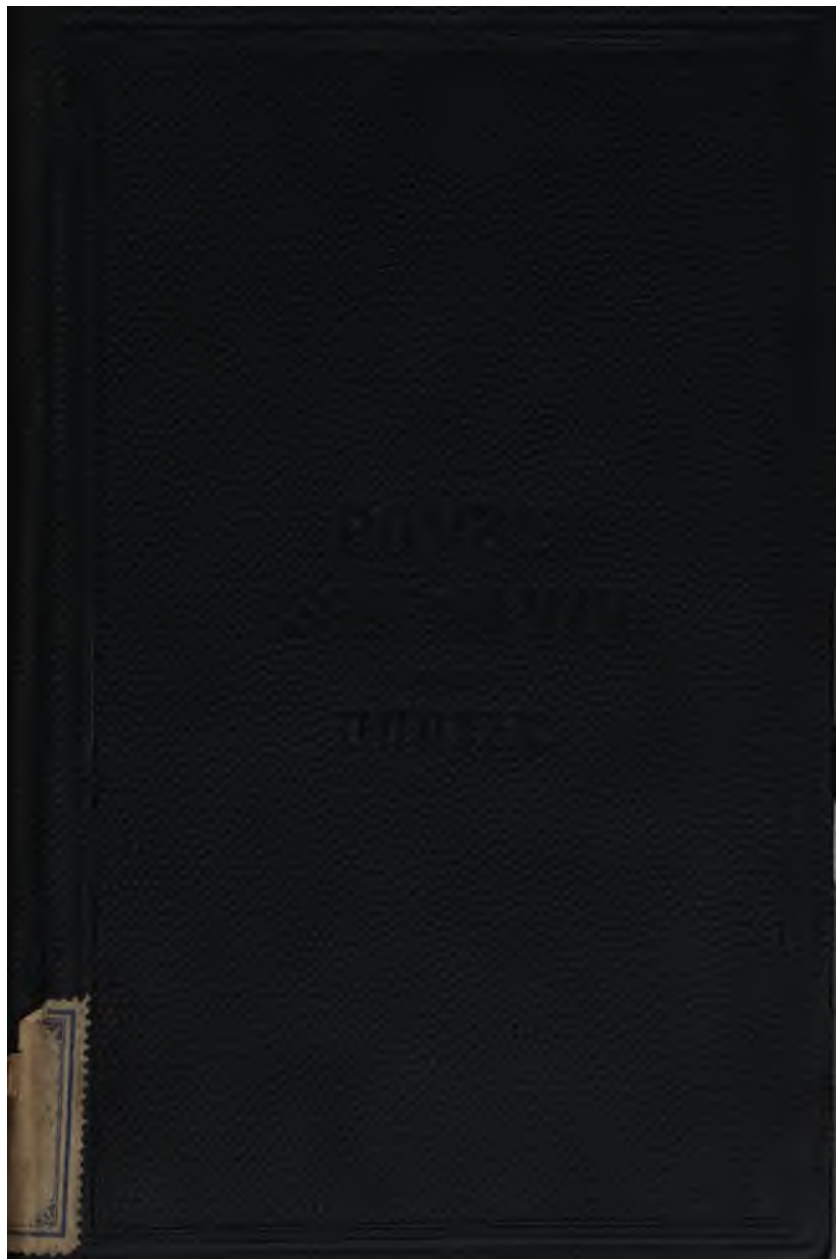
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

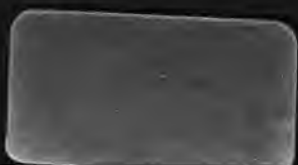
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





600087145V





7

POPE'S
ESSAY ON MAN

LONDON : PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

POPE'S
ESSAY ON MAN

EDITED, WITH ANNOTATIONS &c.

BY THE

REV. JOHN HUNTER, M.A.



LONDON
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO
1879

280 . 0 . 820

All rights reserved

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS.

[The interest with which the general reader may be expected to peruse Pope's 'Essay on Man,' will, it is hoped, be enhanced by the explanatory and illustrative comments in the present edition. The book, however, is specially designed to promote successful competition at public examinations; and to this end candidates are requested to read carefully the introductory matter as well as the foot-notes.]

1. Much of the 'Essay on Man,' in common with many other of Pope's works, is prose elegantly versified. As an example take lines 43 to 50 of the first Epistle. These are easily convertible into the following plain prose:—

If it is confessed that, of all possible systems, infinite Wisdom must form the best, in which all must be full, or else be incoherent, and all that rises must rise in due gradation, then it is plain that in the scale of reasoning life there must be, somewhere, such a rank as Man; and all the question, how long soever we may wrangle, is only this—whether God has placed him wrong.

A much greater portion of the poem is farther removed from prose by means of inversions, ellipses, contractions, and rhetorical fancies. But occasionally the full spirit of true poetry animates the strain, and presents admirable creations of imaginative force and beauty. This is the case more particularly in the first Epistle, as in the following lines:—

- 99-112. 'Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutored mind,' &c.
 195-204. 'Say what the use, were finer optics given,' &c.
 207-222. 'Far as Creation's ample range extends,' &c.
 267-280. 'All are but parts of one stupendous whole,' &c.

These fine passages are essentially poetical, and are not converted into prose when made to assume prose form. The student should make himself familiar with them.

2. Of the inversions, or transposed phrases, by which Pope so often adds dignity and force to metrical arrangement and rhyme, the following are instances occurring in the first Epistle:—

- Line 21. 'Through worlds unnumbered though the God be known.'
 29. 'But of this frame the bearings and the ties.'
 127. 'Aspiring to be gods if angels fell.'
 178. 'Made for his use all creatures if he call.'
 241. 'On superior powers were we to press.'

3. Of the ellipses occurring in the poem, one of the most frequent is the omission of the participle *being* or *having been*, in the clause of the nominative absolute. The following are examples in the same Epistle:—

- Line 71. 'His knowledge [being] measured to his state and place.'
 131. 'The powers of all [being] subdued by thee alone.'
 147. 'The exceptions [having been] few, some change [having been] since all began.'
 244. 'One step [being] broken, the great scale's destroyed.'
 249. 'The least confusion [being, or happening] but in one.'

4. Our author, in his statement of the Design of this poem, gives two reasons for having chosen rhymed verse rather than prose. 'The one,' he says, 'will appear obvious—that principles, maxims, or precepts so written, both strike the reader more strongly at first, and are more easily retained by him afterwards; the other may seem odd, but it is true. I found I could express them more shortly this way than in prose itself;

and nothing is more certain than that much of the force as well as grace of arguments or instructions depends on their conciseness.' We must notice, however, that his conciseness has in several portions of the Essay been carried too far, sacrificing perspicuity to condensation, and wrapping his thoughts in an obscurity which his commentators have been unable to remove. Nor does his language always bear a strict application of the rules of grammar, or indicate distinctly the designed construction; and in one instance, at least, he fails to perceive that the word necessary to supply his ellipsis is inconsistent with the context.

5. The heroic couplet became in the hands of Pope an exquisitely finished vehicle. Yet there is too much monotony in his pauses, and too frequently a shutting-up of the sense with the couplet. He is also very often negligent of his rhymes; thus we find in place of correct rhymes—*here* and *refer*, *plain* and *man*, *know* and *now*, *rest* and *beast*, *caprice* and *vice*, *drest* and *priest*, *cowl* and *fool*.

6. The 'Essay on Man' is an unfinished poem, with a somewhat inappropriate name. It is rather a *Theodicy*, or *Vindication of the Ways of God to Man*, than an *Essay on Man*. Discussions on Natural Religion, and particularly on the nature and origin of Evil, had been for some time prevalent in society when Pope began the composition of this Essay. He thus sought to adapt himself to the age, but his mind had little aptitude for the subject. From the *Théodicée* of Leibnitz he drew the main features of the speculative scheme, but it is, in the whole, an eclectic scheme, and a confused one, some parts of it being contradictory to others. On the relation of Pope's Essay to the theory of Leibnitz we quote from the 'Penny Cyclopædia' the following observations:—'Pope and Leibnitz agree in the position, that of all possible systems infinite Wisdom must form the best; but, by the coherency of all, the former understood the *co-existence* of all grades of perfection, from nothing up to Deity,—the latter, that *mutual dependence* of all in the world, by which each single entity is a reason of all others. By the fulness of Creation Leibnitz denied the existence of any gap in the casual order of co-existent things; Pope asserted by it the unbroken series of all degrees

of perfection. The Divine permission of evil Pope referred to the indisposition of the Deity to disturb general by occasional laws. There is consequently evil in the world which the Deity might have got rid of, if He were willing in certain cases to interrupt His general Providence. Consequently, He admits evil in the world which does not contribute to the perfection of the whole. Leibnitz, however, denies that God could remove the existing evil from the world without prejudice to its goodness. He moreover does not admit of the opposition of general and particular Providence, but makes the general law of the Universe to be nothing else than the totality of all special laws.'

7. The 'Essay on Man,' then, is not to be much commended for the ethical doctrines which it asserts. Its chief merit consists in the felicitous manner in which it expresses thought, the vigour and beauty of its sentiment, the subtle propriety of its diction, and the melody of its versification. Pope here deals with the origin of Evil without any acknowledgment of what Christianity has revealed, and, like all who think they have solved that problem, he is the victim of delusive fallacy. He undertook to teach a subject which he had not well learned; but, nevertheless, his poetry has delighted the minds of thousands who could estimate the subject more sagaciously than he. The Essay is to be read as if it were the work of some noble-minded heathen of classical antiquity, and to be studied chiefly on account of its literary excellence.

EXTRACTS
FROM
JOHNSON'S LIFE OF POPE.

1. In 1733 Pope published the first part of what he persuaded himself to think a system of Ethics, under the title of 'An Essay on Man;' which, if his letter to Swift of September 14, 1725, be rightly explained by the commentator, had been eight years under his consideration, and of which he seems to have desired the success with great solicitude. His own name, and that of his friend to whom the work is inscribed, were in the first editions carefully suppressed. Those friends of Pope that were trusted with the secret went about lavishing honours on the new-born poet, and hinting that Pope was never so much in danger from any former rival. To those authors whom he had personally offended, and to those whose opinion the world considered as decisive, and whom he suspected of envy or malevolence, he sent his Essay as a present before publication, that they might defeat their own enmity by praises which they could not afterwards decently retract. While the author was unknown, some, as will always happen, favoured him as an adventurer, and some censured him as an intruder; but all thought him above neglect; the sale increased, and editions were multiplied. The second and third Epistles were published, and Pope was, I believe, more and more suspected of writing them. At last, in 1734, he avowed the fourth, and claimed the honour of a moral poet.

2. In the conclusion, it is sufficiently acknowledged that the doctrine of the 'Essay on Man' was received from Bolingbroke, who is said to have ridiculed Pope, among those who enjoyed his confidence, as having adopted and advanced principles of which he did not perceive the consequence, and as blindly propagating opinions contrary to his own. That these communications had been consolidated into a scheme regularly drawn, and delivered to Pope, from whom it returned only transformed from prose to verse, has been reported, but hardly can be true. The Essay plainly appears the fabric of a poet; what Bolingbroke supplied could be only the first principles; the order, illustration, and embellishments must all be Pope's. These principles it is not my business to clear from obscurity, dogmatism, or falsehood; but they were not immediately examined; philosophy and poetry have not often the same readers, and the Essay abounded in splendid amplifications and sparkling sentences, which were read and admired with no great attention to their ultimate purpose; its flowers caught the eye, which did not see what the gay foliage concealed, and for a time flourished in the sunshine of universal approbation.

3. Its reputation soon invited a translation. It was first translated into French, and afterwards by Resnel into verse. Both translations fell into the hands of Crousaz, a professor of Switzerland, whose mind was one of those in which philosophy and piety are happily united. He was accustomed to argument and disquisition, and perhaps was grown too desirous of detecting faults; but his intentions were always right, his opinions solid, and his religion pure. His incessant vigilance for the promotion of piety disposed him to look with distrust upon all metaphysical systems of theology, and all schemes of virtue and happiness purely rational; and therefore it was not long before he was persuaded that the positions of Pope, as they terminated for the most part in Natural Religion, were intended to draw mankind away from Revelation, and to represent the whole course of things as a necessary concatenation of indissoluble fatality; and it is undeniable that in many passages a religious eye may easily discover expressions not *very favourable to morals or to liberty.*

4. Warburton, whatever was his motive, undertook with-

out solicitation to rescue Pope from the talons of Crousaz, by freeing him from the imputation of favouring fatality or rejecting Revelation; and from month to month continued a vindication of the 'Essay on Man' in the literary journal of that time, called 'The Republic of Letters.' Pope, who probably began to doubt the tendency of his own work, was glad that the positions of which he perceived himself not to know the full meaning could by any mode of interpretation be made to mean well.

5. The 'Essay on Man' was a work of great labour and long consideration, but certainly not the happiest of Pope's performances. The subject perhaps is not very proper for poetry, and the poet was not sufficiently master of his subject—metaphysical morality was to him a new study; he was fond of his acquisitions, and, supposing himself master of great secrets, was in haste to teach what he had not learned. Thus he tells us, in the first Epistle, that from the nature of the Supreme Being may be deduced an order of beings such as mankind, because infinite Excellence can do only what is best. He finds out that these beings must be *somewhere*; and that *all the question is, whether man be in a wrong place*. Surely if, according to the poet's Leibnitzian reasoning, we may infer that man *ought to be*, only because *he is*, we may allow that his place is the right place, because he has it. Supreme Wisdom is not less infallible in disposing than in creating. But what is meant by *somewhere*, and *place*, and *wrong place*, it had been vain to ask Pope, who probably had never asked himself.

Having exalted himself into the chair of wisdom, he tells us much that every man knows, and much that he does not know himself: that we see but little, and that the order of the universe is beyond our comprehension: an opinion not very uncommon; and that there is a chain of subordinate beings 'from infinite to nothing,' of which himself and his readers are equally ignorant. But he gives us one comfort, which without his help he supposes unattainable, in the position 'that though we are fools, yet God is wise.'

6. This Essay affords an egregious instance of the predominance of genius, the dazzling splendour of imagery, and the seductive powers of eloquence. Never was penury of know-

ledge and vulgarity of sentiment so happily disguised. The reader feels his mind full, though he learns nothing; and when he meets it in its new array, no longer knows the talk of his mother and his nurse. When these wonder-working sounds sink into sense, and the doctrine of the Essay, disrobed of its ornaments, is left to the powers of its native excellence, what shall we discover? That we are, in comparison with our Creator, very weak and ignorant; that we do not uphold the chain of existence; and that we could not make one another with more skill than we are made. We may learn yet more: that the arts of human life were copied from the instinctive operations of other animals; that, if the world be made for man, it may be said that man was made for geese. To these profound principles of natural knowledge are added some moral instructions equally new: that self-interest, well understood, will produce social concord; that men are mutual gainers by mutual benefits; that evil is sometimes balanced by good; that human advantages are unstable and fallacious, of uncertain duration and doubtful effect; that our true honour is, not to have a great part, but to act it well; that virtue only is our own, and that happiness is always in our power. Surely a man of no comprehensive search may venture to say that he has heard all this before; but it was never till now recommended by such a blaze of embellishments, or such sweetness of melody. The vigorous contraction of some thoughts, the luxuriant amplification of others, the incidental illustrations, and sometimes the dignity, sometimes the softness of the verses, enchain philosophy, suspend criticism, and oppress judgment by overpowering pleasure. This is true of many paragraphs; yet, if I had undertaken to exemplify Pope's felicity of composition before a rigid critic, I should not select the 'Essay on Man;' for it contains more lines unsuccessfully laboured, more harshness of diction, and more thoughts imperfectly expressed, more levity without elegance, and more heaviness without strength, than will easily be found in all his other works.

EXTRACTS FROM DR. JOHNSON'S REVIEW
OF
SOAME JENYNS
ON THE
NATURE AND ORIGIN ON EVIL.

1. The Author rejects the Manichean system, but imputes to it an absurdity from which, amidst all its absurdities, it seems to be free, and adopts the system of Mr. Pope.

'That pain is no evil, if asserted with regard to the individuals who suffer it, is downright nonsense; but if considered as it affects the Universal System, is an undoubted truth, and means only that there is no more pain in it than what is necessary to the production of happiness. How many soever of these evils, then, force themselves into the Creation, so long as the good preponderates, it is a work well worthy of infinite Wisdom and Benevolence, and notwithstanding the imperfections of its parts, the whole is most undoubtedly perfect.'

And in the former part of the Letter he gives the principle of his system in these words:

'Omnipotence cannot work contradictions, it can only effect all possible things. But so little are we acquainted with the whole system of nature, that we know not what are possible, and what are not: but if we may judge from that constant mixture of pain with pleasure, and inconvenience with advantage, which we must observe in everything round us, we have

reason to conclude, that to endue created beings with perfection, that is, to produce Good exclusive of Evil, is one of those impossibilities which even infinite Power cannot accomplish.'

This is elegant and acute, but will by no means calm discontent, or silence curiosity: for whether Evil can be wholly separated from Good or not, it is plain that they may be mixed in various degrees, and as far as human eyes can judge, the degree of Evil might have been less without any impediment to Good.

2. The second Letter, *on the evils of imperfection*, is little more than a paraphrase of Pope's Epistles, or yet less than a paraphrase, a mere translation of poetry into prose.

Yet is not this Letter without some sentiments which, though not new, are of great importance, and may be read with pleasure in the thousandth repetition.

'Whatever we enjoy is purely a free gift from our Creator; but that we enjoy no more can never sure be deemed an injury, or a just reason to question His infinite benevolence. All our happiness is owing to His goodness; but that it is no greater is owing only to ourselves; that is, to our not having any inherent right to any happiness, or even to any existence at all. This is no more to be imputed to God, than the wants of a beggar to the person who has relieved him: that he had something, was owing to his benefactor; but that he had no more, only to his original poverty.'

Thus far he speaks what every man must approve, and what every wise man has said before him.

3. He then gives us the system of subordination, not invented (for it was known I think to the Arabian metaphysicians), but adopted by Pope; and from him borrowed by the diligent researches of this great investigator.

'No System can possibly be formed, even in imagination, without a subordination of parts. Every animal body must have different members subservient to each other; every picture must be composed of various colours, and of light and shade; all harmony must be* formed of trebles, tenors, and basses; every beautiful and useful edifice must consist of higher

* *That it must be is not true: treble and bass together form harmony also.*

and lower, more and less magnificent apartments. This is in the very essence of all created things, and therefore cannot be prevented by any means whatever, unless by not creating them at all.'

These instances are used instead of Pope's *Oak* and *Weeds*, or *Jupiter* and his *Satellites*; but neither Pope, nor this writer, have much contributed to solve the difficulty. Perfection or imperfection of unconscious beings has no meaning as referred to themselves; the *bass* and the *treble* are equally perfect; the mean and magnificent apartments feel no pleasure or pain from the comparison. Pope might ask the *weed*, why it was less than the *oak*, but the *weed* would never ask the question for itself. The *bass* and *treble* differ only to the hearer, meanness and magnificence only to the inhabitant. There is no evil but must inhere in a conscious being, or be referred to it; that is, Evil must be *felt* before it is Evil. Yet even on this subject many questions might be offered, which human understanding has not yet answered, and which the present haste of this extract will not suffer me to dilate.

¶. He proceeds to a humble detail of Pope's opinion :

'The Universe is a system whose very essence consists in subordination; a scale of beings descending by insensible degrees from infinite perfection to absolute nothing; in which, though we may justly expect to find perfection in the whole, could we possibly comprehend it, yet would it be the highest absurdity to hope for it in all its parts, because the beauty and happiness of the whole depend altogether on the just inferiority of its parts, that is, on the comparative imperfections of the several beings of which it is composed.'

'It would have been no more an instance of God's wisdom to have created no beings but of the highest and most perfect order, than it would be of a painter's art to cover his whole piece with one single colour, the most beautiful he could compose. Had He confined himself to such, nothing could have existed but demi-gods, or archangels, and then all inferior orders must have been void and uninhabited: but as it is surely more agreeable to infinite Benevolence that all these should be filled up with beings capable of enjoying happiness themselves, and contributing to that of others, they must necessarily be

filled with inferior beings, that is, with such as are less perfect, but from whose existence, notwithstanding that less perfection, more felicity upon the whole accrues to the Universe, than if no such had been created. It is moreover highly probable that there is such a connection between all ranks and orders by subordinate degrees, that they mutually support each other's existence, and every one in its place is absolutely necessary towards sustaining the whole vast and magnificent fabric.

'Our pretence for complaint could be of this only, that we are not so high in the scale of existence as our ignorant ambition may desire: a pretence which must eternally subsist; because, were we ever so much higher, there would still be room for infinite Power to exalt us; and since no link in the chain can be broke, the same reason for disquiet must remain to those who succeed to that chasm which must be occasioned by our preferment. A man can have no reason to repine that he is not an angel; nor a horse that he is not a man; much less, that in their several stations they possess not the faculties of another; for this would be an insufferable misfortune.'

This doctrine of the regular subordination of being, the scale of existence, and the chain of nature, I have often considered, but always left the inquiry in doubt and uncertainty.

That every being not infinite, compared with infinity, must be imperfect, is evident to intuition; that whatever is imperfect must have a certain line which it cannot pass, is equally certain. But the reason which determined this limit, and for which such being was suffered to advance so far and no farther, we shall never be able to discern. Our discoveries tell us the Creator has made beings of all orders, and that therefore one of them must be such as man. But this system seems to be established on a concession, which, if it be refused, cannot be extorted.

Every reason which can be brought to prove that there are beings of every possible sort, will prove that there is the greatest number possible of every sort of beings; but this with respect to man we know, if we know anything, not to be true.

It does not appear even to the imagination that, of three orders of being, the first and the third receive any advantage

from the imperfection of the second, or that indeed they may not equally exist, though the second had never been, or should cease to be; and why should that be concluded necessary which cannot be proved even to be useful?

The scale of existence from infinity to nothing cannot possibly have being. The highest being not infinite, must be, as has been often observed, at an infinite distance below infinity. Cheyne, who, with the desire inherent in mathematicians to reduce everything to mathematical images, considers all existence as a *cone*, allows that the basis is at an infinite distance from the body. And in this distance between finite and infinite, there will be room for ever for an infinite series of indefinable existence.

Between the lowest possible existence and nothing, wherever we suppose positive existence to cease, is another chasm infinitely deep; where there is room again for endless orders of subordinate nature, continued for ever and for ever, and yet infinitely superior to non-existence.

To these meditations humanity is unequal. But yet we may ask, not of our Maker, but of each other, since on the one side Creation, wherever it stops, must stop infinitely below infinity, and on the other infinitely above nothing, what necessity there is that it should proceed so far either way that beings so high or so low should ever have existed? We may ask; but I believe no created wisdom can give an adequate answer.

Nor is this all. In the scale, wherever it begins or ends, are infinite vacuities. At whatever distance we suppose the next order of beings to be above man, there is room for an intermediate order of beings between them; and if for one order, then for infinite orders; since everything that admits of more or less, and consequently all the parts of that which admits them, may be infinitely divided. So that, as far as we can judge, there may be room in the vacancy between any two steps of the scale, or between any two points of the cone of being, for infinite exertion of infinite power.

Thus it appears how little reason those who repose their reason upon the scale of being have to triumph over them who recur to any other expedient of solution, and what difficulties arise on every side to repress the rebellions of presumptuous decision.

5. We are next entertained with Pope's Alleviations of those evils which we are doomed to suffer.

'Poverty, or the want of riches, is generally compensated by having more hopes and fewer fears, by a greater share of health, and a more exquisite relish of the smallest enjoyments, than those who possess them are usually blessed with. The want of taste and genius, with all the pleasures that arise from them, are commonly recompensed by a more useful kind of common sense, together with a wonderful delight, as well as success, in the busy pursuits of a scrambling world. The sufferings of the sick are greatly relieved by many trifling gratifications imperceptible to others, and sometimes almost repaid by the inconceivable transports occasioned by the return of health and vigour. Ignorance, or the want of knowledge and literature, the appointed lot of all born to poverty and the drudgeries of life, is the only opiate capable of infusing that insensibility which can enable them to endure the miseries of the one and the fatigues of the other. It is a cordial administered by the gracious hand of Providence; of which they ought never to be deprived by an ill-judged and improper education. It is the basis of all subordination, the support of society, and the privilege of individuals: and I have ever thought it a most remarkable instance of the Divine Wisdom, that whereas in all animals, whose individuals rise little above the rest of their species, knowledge is instinctive,—in man, whose individuals are so widely different, it is acquired by education; by which means the prince and the labourer, the philosopher and the peasant, are in some measure fitted for their respective situations.'

Much of these positions is perhaps true, and the whole paragraph might well pass without censure, were not objections necessary to the establishment of knowledge. *Poverty* is very gently paraphrased by *want of riches*. In that sense almost every man may in his own opinion be poor. But there is another poverty, which is *want of competence*, of all that can soften the miseries of life, of all that can diversify attention or delight imagination. There is yet another poverty, which is *want of necessities*: a species of poverty which no care of the public, no charity of particulars, can preserve many from feeling openly, and many secretly.

That hope and fear are inseparably or very frequently connected with poverty and riches, my surveys of life have not informed me. The milder degrees of poverty are sometimes supported by hope, but the more severe often sink down in motionless despondence. Life must be seen before it can be known. This author and Pope perhaps never saw the miseries which they imagine thus easy to be borne. The poor indeed are insensible of many little vexations which sometimes embitter the possessions and pollute the enjoyments of the rich. They are not pained by casual incivility, or mortified by the mutilation of a compliment; but this happiness is like that of a malefactor, who ceases to feel the cords that bind him when the pincers are tearing his flesh.

That want of taste for one enjoyment is supplied by the pleasures of some other, may be fairly allowed. But the compensations of sickness I have never found near to equivalence, and the transports of recovery only prove the inteuenseness of the pain.

Concerning the portion of ignorance necessary to make the condition of the lower classes of mankind safe to the public and tolerable to themselves, both morals and policy exact a nicer inquiry than will be very soon or very easily made. There is undoubtedly a degree of knowledge which will direct a man to refer all to Providence, and to acquiesce in the condition which omniscient Goodness has determined to allot him; to consider this world as a phantom that must soon glide from before his eyes, and the distresses and vexations that encompass him as dust scattered in his path, as a blast that chills him for a moment, and passes off for ever.

Such wisdom, arising from the comparison of a part with the whole of our existence, those that want it most cannot possibly obtain from philosophy; nor, unless the method of education and the general tenor of life is changed, will very easily receive it from religion. The bulk of mankind is not likely to be very wise or very good: and I know not whether there are not many states of life in which all knowledge, less than the highest wisdom, will produce discontent and danger. I believe it may be sometimes found that a little learning is to a poor man a dangerous thing.* But such is the condition

* Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, 215.

of humanity, that we easily see, or quickly feel the wrong, but cannot always distinguish the right. Whatever knowledge is superfluous, in irremediable poverty, is hurtful, but the difficulty is to determine when poverty is irremediable, and at what point superfluity begins. Gross ignorance every man has found equally dangerous with perverted knowledge. Men left wholly to their appetites and their instincts, with little sense of moral or religious obligation, and with very faint distinctions of right and wrong, can never be safely employed, or confidently trusted: they can be honest only by obstinacy, and diligent only by compulsion or caprice. Some instruction, therefore, is necessary, and much perhaps may be dangerous.

Though it should be granted that those who are *born to poverty and drudgery* should not be *deprived* by an *improper education* of the *opiate* of *ignorance*,—even this concession will not be of much use to direct our practice, unless it be determined who are those that are *born to poverty*. To entail irreversible poverty upon generation after generation, only because the ancestor happened to be poor, is in itself cruel, if not unjust, and is wholly contrary to the maxims of a commercial nation, which always suppose and promote a rotation of property, and offer every individual a chance of mending his condition by his diligence. Those who communicate literature to the son of a poor man consider him as one not born to poverty, but to the necessity of deriving a better fortune from himself. In this attempt, as in others, many fail, and many succeed. Those that fail will feel their misery more acutely; but since poverty is now confessed to be such a calamity as cannot be borne without the opiate of insensibility, I hope the happiness of those whom education enables to escape from it, may turn the balance against that exacerbation which the others suffer.

I am always afraid of determining on the side of envy and cruelty. The privileges of education may sometimes be improperly bestowed, but I shall always fear to withhold them, lest I should be yielding to the suggestions of pride, while I persuade myself that I am following the maxims of policy; and, under the appearance of salutary restraints, should be indulging *the lust of dominion*, and that malevolence which delights in *seeing others depressed*.

6. The Inquiry after the cause of *natural Evil* is continued in the third Letter, in which, as in the former, there is a mixture of borrowed truth and native folly, of some notions just and trite, with others uncommon and ridiculous.

His opinion of the value and importance of happiness is certainly just, and I shall insert it, not that it will give any information to any reader, but it may serve to show how the most common notion may be swelled in sound, and diffused in bulk, till it shall perhaps astonish the author himself.

‘Happiness is the only thing of real value in existence: neither riches, nor power, nor wisdom, nor learning, nor strength, nor beauty, nor virtue, nor religion, nor even life itself, being of any importance, but as they contribute to its production. All these are in themselves neither good nor evil: happiness alone is their great end, and they are desirable only as they tend to promote it.’

Success produces confidence. After this discovery of the value of happiness, he proceeds, without any distrust of himself, to tell us what has been hid from all former inquirers.

‘The true solution of this important question, so long and so vainly searched for by the philosophers of all ages and all countries, I take to be at last no more than this, that these real evils proceed from the same source as those imaginary ones of imperfection before treated of, namely, from that subordination without which no created system can subsist; all subordination implying imperfection, all imperfection Evil, and all Evil some kind of inconvenience or suffering: so that there must be particular inconveniences and sufferings annexed to every particular rank of created beings by the circumstances of things, and their modes of existence.

‘God indeed might have made us quite other creatures, and placed us in a world quite differently constituted; but then we had been no longer men, and whatever beings had occupied our stations in the universal System, they must have been liable to the same inconveniences.’

In all this there is nothing that can silence the inquiries of curiosity, or calm the perturbations of doubt. Whether subordination implies imperfection, may be disputed. The means respecting themselves may be as perfect as the end. The

weed as a weed is no less perfect than the oak as an oak. That *imperfection implies Evil, and Evil suffering*, is by no means evident. Imperfection may imply private Evil, or the absence of some good, but this privation produces no suffering, but by the help of knowledge. An infant at the breast is yet an imperfect man, but there is no reason for belief that he is unhappy by his immaturity, unless some positive pain be super-added.

When this Author presumes to speak of the Universe, I would advise him a little to distrust his own faculties, however large and comprehensive. Many words easily understood on common occasion become uncertain and figurative when applied to the works of Omnipotence. Subordination in human affairs is well understood; but when it is attributed to the universal System, its meaning grows less certain, like the petty distinctions of locality, which are of good use upon our own globe, but have no meaning with regard to infinite space, in which nothing is *high* or *low*.

That if man, by exaltation to a higher nature, were exempted from the evils which he now suffers, some other being must suffer them; that if man were not man, some other being must be man,—is a position arising from his established notion of the scale of being: a notion to which Pope has given some importance by adopting it, and of which I have therefore endeavoured to show the uncertainty and inconsistency. This scale of being I have demonstrated to be raised by presumptuous imagination, to rest on nothing at the bottom, to lean on nothing at the top, and to have vacuities from step to step through which any order of being may sink into nihility without any inconvenience, so far as we can judge, to the next rank above or below it. We are therefore little enlightened by a writer who tells us that any being in the state of man must suffer what man suffers, when the only question that requires to be resolved is, Why any being is in this state?

7. Of poverty and labour he gives just and elegant representations, which yet do not remove the difficulty of the first and fundamental question, though, supposing the present state of man necessary, they may supply some motive for content.

'Poverty is what all could not possibly have been exempted

from, not only by reason of the fluctuating nature of human possessions, but because the world could not subsist without it; for had all been rich, none could have submitted to the commands of another, or the necessary drudgeries of life; thence all governments must have been dissolved, arts neglected, and lands uncultivated, and so a universal penury have overwhelmed all, instead of now and then pinching a few. Hence, by the bye, appears the great excellence of charity, by which men are enabled, by a particular distribution of the blessings and enjoyments of life, on proper occasions, to prevent that poverty which by a general one Omnipotence itself could never have prevented: so that, by enforcing this duty, God as it were demands our assistance to promote universal happiness, and to shut out misery at every door, where it strives to intrude itself.

‘Labour, indeed, God might easily have excused us from, since at His command the earth would readily have poured forth all her treasures without our inconsiderable assistance: but if the severest labour cannot sufficiently subdue the malignity of human nature, what plots and machinations, what wars, rapine, and devastation, what profligacy and licentiousness, must have been the consequences of universal idleness! so that labour ought only to be looked upon as a task kindly imposed upon us by our indulgent Creator, necessary to preserve our health, our safety, and our innocence.’

I am afraid that *the latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning*.^{*} If God could easily have excused us from labour, I do not comprehend why *He could not possibly have exempted all from poverty*. For poverty, in its easier and more tolerable degree, is little more than necessity of labour; and in its more severe and deplorable state, little more than inability for labour. To be poor is to work for others, or to want the succour of others without work. And the same exuberant fertility which would make work unnecessary, might make poverty impossible.

Surely a man who seems not completely master of his own opinion, should have spoken more cautiously of Omnipotence,

* Shakespeare's *Tempest*, ii. 1.

nor have presumed to say what it could perform, or what it could prevent. I am in doubt whether those who stand highest in *the scale of being* speak thus confidently of the dispensations of their Maker :

For fools rush in where angels fear to tread.*—POPE.

3. Of our inquietudes of mind his account is still less reasonable. ' Whilst men are injured, they must be inflamed with anger ; and whilst they see cruelties, they must be melted with pity ; whilst they perceive danger, they must be sensible of fear.' This is to give a reason for all evil, by showing that one evil produces another. If there is danger, there ought to be fear ; but if fear is an evil, why should there be danger ? His vindication of pain is of the same kind : pain is useful to alarm us, that we may shun greater evils, but those greater evils must be presupposed, that the fitness of pain may appear.

Treating on death, he has expressed the known and true doctrine with sprightliness of fancy and neatness of diction. I shall therefore insert it. There are truths which, as they are always necessary, do not grow stale by repetition.

' Death, the last and most dreadful of all evils, is so far from being one, that it is the infallible cure for all others.

To die, is landing on some silent shore,
Where billows never beat, nor tempests roar.
Ere well we feel the friendly stroke, 'tis o'er.—

GARTH.

For, abstracted from the sickness and sufferings usually attending it, it is no more than the expiration of that term of life God was pleased to bestow on us, without any claim or merit on our part. But was it an evil ever so great, it could not be remedied but by one much greater, which is by living for ever ; by which means our wickedness, unrestrained by the prospect of a future state, would grow so insupportable, our sufferings so intolerable by perseverance, and our pleasures so tiresome by repetition, that no being in the universe could be so completely miserable as a species of immortal men. We have no reason, therefore, to look upon death as an evil, or to

* *Essay on Criticism*, 625.

fear it as a punishment, even without any supposition of a future life ; but if we consider it as a passage to a more perfect state, or a remove only in an eternal succession of still-improving states (for which we have the strongest reasons), it will then appear a new favour from the Divine munificence; and a man must be as absurd to repine at dying, as a traveller would be, who proposed to himself a delightful tour through various unknown countries, to lament that he cannot take up his residence at the first dirty inn which he baits at on the road.

‘The instability of human life, or of the changes of its successive periods, of which we so frequently complain, are no more than the necessary progress of it to this necessary conclusion ; and so far from being evils deserving these complaints, that they are the source of our greatest pleasures, as they are the source of all novelty, from which our greatest pleasures are ever derived. The continual succession of seasons in the human life, by daily presenting to us new scenes, render it agreeable, and like those of the year, afford us delights by their change, which the choicest of them could not give us by their continuance. In the spring of life, the gilding of the sunshine, the verdure of the fields, and the variegated paintings of the sky, are so exquisite in the eyes of infants at their first looking abroad into a new world, as nothing perhaps afterwards can equal. The heat and vigour of the succeeding summer of youth ripens for us new pleasures, the blooming maid, the nightly revel, and the jovial chase ; the serene autumn of complete manhood feasts us with the golden harvests of our worldly pursuits ; nor is the hoary winter of old age destitute of its peculiar comforts and enjoyments, of which the recollection and relation of those past are perhaps none of the least ; and at last death opens to us a new prospect, from whence we shall probably look back upon the diversions and occupations of this world with the same contempt we do now on our tops and hobbyhorses, and with the same surprise that they could ever so much entertain or engage us.’

I would not willingly detract from the beauty of this paragraph ; and in gratitude to him who has so well inculcated such important truths, I will venture to admonish him, since the *chief comfort* of age is the recollection of the past, so to employ

his time and his thoughts, that when the imbecility of age shall come upon him, he may be able to recreate its languors by the remembrance of hours spent, not in presumptuous decisions, but modest inquiries, not in dogmatical limitations of Omnipotence, but in humble acquiescence and fervent adoration. Old age will show him that much of the book now before us has no other use than to perplex the scrupulous, and to shake the weak, to encourage impious presumption or stimulate idle curiosity.

9. Having thus despatched the consideration of particular evils, he comes at last to a general reason for which *Evil* may be said to be *our Good*. He is of opinion that there is some inconceivable benefit in pain abstractedly considered; that pain, however inflicted, or wherever felt, communicates some good to the general system of being, and that every animal is some way or other the better for the pain of every other animal. This opinion he carries so far as to suppose that there passes some principle of union through all animal life, as attraction is communicated to all corporeal nature; and that the evils suffered on this globe may by some inconceivable means contribute to the felicity of the inhabitants of the remotest planet.

How the Origin of Evil is brought nearer to human conception by any *inconceivable* means, I am not able to discover. We believed that the present system of Creation was right, though we could not explain the adaptation of one part to the other, or account for the whole succession of causes and consequences. Where has this inquirer added to the little knowledge that we had before? He has told us of the benefits of Evil, which no man feels, and relations between distant parts of the universe, which he cannot himself conceive. There was enough in this question inconceivable before, and we have little advantage from a new inconceivable solution.

I do not mean to reproach this Author for not knowing what is equally hidden from learning and from ignorance. The shame is to impose words for ideas upon ourselves or others. To imagine that we are going forward when we are only turning round. To think that there is any difference between him that *gives no reason, and him that gives a reason which by his own confession cannot be conceived.*

10. But that he may not be thought to conceive nothing but things inconceivable, he has at last thought on a way by which human sufferings may produce good effects. He imagines that as we have not only animals for food, but choose some for our diversion, the same privilege may be allowed to some beings above us, *who may deceive, torment, or destroy us for the ends only of their own pleasure or utility.* This he again finds impossible to be conceived, *but that impossibility lessens not the probability of the conjecture, which by analogy is so strongly confirmed.*

I cannot resist the temptation of contemplating this analogy, which, I think, he might have carried further, very much to the advantage of his argument. He might have shown that these *hunters, whose game is man,* have many sports analogous to our own. As we drown whelps and kittens, they amuse themselves now and then with sinking a ship, and stand round the fields of Blenheim or the walls of Prague, as we encircle a cock-pit. As we shoot a bird flying, they take a man in the midst of his business or pleasure, and knock him down with an apoplexy. Some of them, perhaps, are virtuosi, and delight in the operations of an asthma, as a human philosopher in the effects of the air-pump. To swell a man with a tympany is as good sport as to blow a frog. Many a merry bout have these frolic beings at the vicissitudes of an ague, and good sport it is to see a man tumble with an epilepsy, and revive and tumble again, and all this he knows not why. As they are wiser and more powerful than we, they have more exquisite diversions, for we have no way of procuring any sport so briak and so lasting as the paroxysms of the gout and stone, which undoubtedly must make high mirth, especially if the play be a little diversified with the blunders and puzzles of the blind and deaf. We know not how far their sphere of observation may extend. Perhaps now and then a merry being may place himself in such a situation as to enjoy at once all the varieties of an epidemical disease, or amuse his leisure with the tossings and contortions of every possible pain exhibited together.

One sport the merry malice of these beings has found means of enjoying, to which we have nothing equal or similar. They now and then catch a mortal proud of his parts, and flattered

either by the submission of those who court his kindness, or the notice of those who suffer him to court theirs. A head thus prepared for the reception of false opinions, and the projection of vain designs, they easily fill with idle notions, till in time they make their plaything an author: their first diversion commonly begins with an ode or an epistle, then rises perhaps to a political irony, and is at last brought to its height by a treatise of philosophy. Then begins the poor animal to entangle himself in sophisms, and flounder in absurdity, to talk confidently of the scale of being, and to give solutions which himself confesses impossible to be understood. Sometimes, however, it happens that their pleasure is without much mischief. The author feels no pain, but while they are wondering at the extravagance of his opinion, and pointing him out to one another as a new example of human folly, he is enjoying his own applause, and that of his companions, and perhaps is elevated with the hope of standing at the head of a new sect.

Many of the books which now crowd the world may be justly suspected to be written for the sake of some invisible order of beings, for surely they are of no use to any of the corporeal inhabitants of the world. Of the productions of the last bounteous year how many can be said to serve any purpose of use or pleasure? The only end of writing is to enable the readers better to enjoy life, or better to endure it: and how will either of those be put more in our power by him who tells us that we are puppets, of which some creature not much wiser than ourselves manages the wires? That a set of beings unseen and unheard are hovering about us, trying experiments upon our sensibility, putting us in agonies to see our limbs quiver, torturing us to madness that they may laugh at our vagaries, sometimes obstructing the bile, that they may see how a man looks when he is yellow; sometimes breaking a traveller's bones, to try how he will get home; sometimes wasting a man to a skeleton, and sometimes killing him fat for the greater elegance of his hide.

This is an account of natural Evil, which though, like the rest, not quite new, is very entertaining, though I know not *how much it may contribute to patience*. The only reason why *we should contemplate Evil is*, that we may bear it better; and

I am afraid nothing is much more placidly endured, for the sake of making others sport.

11. The first pages of the fourth Letter are such as incline me both to hope and wish that I shall find nothing to blame in the succeeding part. He offers a criterion of action, on account of virtue and vice, for which I have often contended, and which must be embraced by all who are willing to know why they act, or why they forbear to give any reason of their conduct to themselves or others.

'In order to find out the true Origin of Moral Evil, it will be necessary, in the first place, to inquire into its nature and essence; or what it is that constitutes one action evil, and another good. Various have been the opinions of various authors on this criterion of virtue; and this variety has rendered that doubtful which must otherwise have been clear and manifest to the meanest capacity. Some indeed have denied that there is any such thing, because different ages and nations have entertained different sentiments concerning it; but this is just as reasonable, as to assert that there are neither sun, moon, nor stars, because astronomers have supported different systems of the motions and magnitudes of these celestial bodies. Some have placed it in conformity to truth, some to the fitness of things, and others to the will of God. But all this is merely superficial: they resolve us not why truth, or the fitness of things, is either eligible or obligatory, or why God should require us to act in one manner rather than another. The true reason of which can possibly be no other than this, because some actions produce happiness, and others misery; so that all moral Good and Evil are nothing more than the production of natural. This alone it is that makes truth preferable to falsehood, this that determines the fitness of things, and this that induces God to command some actions and forbid others. They who extol the truth, beauty, and harmony of virtue, exclusive of its consequences, deal but in pompous nonsense: and they who would persuade us that Good and Evil are things indifferent, depending wholly on the will of God, do but confound the nature of things, as well as all our notions of God Himself, by representing Him capable of willing contradictions; that is, that we should be, and be happy, and at the

same time that we should torment and destroy each other ; for injuries cannot be made benefits, pain cannot be made pleasure, and consequently vice cannot be made virtue, by any power whatever. It is the consequences, therefore, of all human actions that must stamp their value. So far as the general practice of any action tends to produce Good, and introduce happiness into the world, so far we may pronounce it virtuous ; so much Evil as it occasions, such is the degree of vice it contains. I say the general practice, because we must always remember, in judging by this rule, to apply it only to the general species of actions, and not to particular actions ; for the infinite wisdom of God, desirous to set bounds to the destructive consequences which must otherwise have followed from the universal depravity of mankind, has so wonderfully contrived the nature of things, that our most vicious actions may sometimes accidentally and collaterally produce good. Thus, for instance, robbery may disperse useless hoards to the benefit of the public ; adultery may bring heirs and good humour too into many families, where they would otherwise have been wanting ; and murder free the world from tyrants and oppressors. Luxury maintains its thousands, and vanity its ten thousands. Superstition and arbitrary power contribute to the grandeur of many nations, and the liberties of others are preserved by the perpetual contentions of avarice, knavery, selfishness, and ambition ; and thus the worst of vices, and the worst of men, are often compelled by Providence to serve the most beneficial purposes, contrary to their own malevolent tendencies and inclinations ; and thus private vices become public benefits, by the force only of accidental circumstances. But this impeaches not the truth of the criterion of virtue before mentioned, the only solid foundation on which any true system of ethics can be built, the only plain, simple, and uniform rule by which we can pass any judgment on our actions ; but by this we may be enabled, not only to determine which are Good and which are Evil, but almost mathematically to demonstrate the proportion of virtue or vice which belongs to each, by comparing them with the degrees of happiness or misery which they occasion. But *though the production of happiness is the essence of virtue, it is by no means the end ; the great end is the probation of man-*

kind, or the giving them an opportunity of exalting or degrading themselves in another state by their behaviour in the present. And thus indeed it answers two most important purposes: those are the conservation of our happiness and the test of our obedience; or had not such a test seemed necessary to God's infinite Wisdom, and productive of universal good, He would never have permitted the happiness of men, even in this life, to have depended on so precarious a tenure as their mutual good behaviour to each other. For it is observable, that He who best knows our formation has trusted no one thing of importance to our reason or virtue: He trusts only to our appetites for the support of the individual and the continuance of our species; to our vanity or compassion, for our bounty to others; and to our fears, for the preservation of ourselves; often to our vices for the support of government, and sometimes to our follies for the preservation of our religion. But since some test of our obedience was necessary, nothing sure could have been commanded for that end so fit and proper, and at the same time so useful, as the practice of virtue: nothing could have been so justly rewarded with happiness, as the production of happiness in conformity to the will of God. It is this conformity alone which adds merit to virtue, and constitutes the essential difference between morality and religion. Morality obliges men to live honestly and soberly, because such behaviour is most conducive to public happiness, and consequently to their own; religion, to pursue the same course, because conformable to the will of their Creator. Morality induces them to embrace virtue from prudential considerations; religion, from those of gratitude and obedience. Morality therefore, entirely abstracted from religion, can have nothing meritorious in it; it being but wisdom, prudence, or good economy, which, like health, beauty, or riches, are rather obligations conferred upon us by God, than merits in us towards Him; for though we may be justly punished for injuring ourselves, we can claim no reward for self-preservation; as suicide deserves punishment and infamy, but a man deserves no reward or honours for not being guilty of it. This I take to be the meaning of all those passages in our Scriptures, in which works are represented to have no merit without faith; that is, not without believing in histo-

rical facts, in creeds, and articles; but without being done in pursuance of our belief in God, and in obedience to His commands. And now, having mentioned Scripture, I cannot omit observing that the Christian is the only religious or moral institution in the world, that ever set in a right light these two material points—the essence and the end of virtue: that ever founded the one in the production of happiness, that is, in universal benevolence, or, in their language, charity to all men; the other, in the probation of man, and his obedience to his Creator. Sublime and magnificent as was the philosophy of the ancients, all their moral systems were deficient in these two important articles. They were all built on the sandy foundations of the innate beauty of virtue, or enthusiastic patriotism; and their great point in view was the contemptible reward of human glory: foundations which were by no means able to support the magnificent structures which they erected upon them; for the beauty of virtue, independent of its effects, is unmeaning nonsense; patriotism, which injures mankind in general for the sake of a particular country, is but a more extended selfishness, and really criminal; and all human glory but a mean and ridiculous delusion. The whole affair then of religion and morality, the subject of so many thousand volumes, is, in short, no more than this; the Supreme Being, infinitely good as well as powerful, desirous to diffuse happiness by all possible means, has created innumerable ranks and orders of beings, all subservient to each other by proper subordination. One of these is occupied by man, a creature endued with such a certain degree of knowledge, reason, and free-will, as is suitable to his situation, and placed for a time on this globe as in a school of probation and education. Here he has an opportunity given him of improving or debasing his nature, in such a manner as to render himself fit for a rank of higher perfection and happiness, or to degrade himself to a state of greater imperfection and misery; necessary indeed towards carrying on the business of the Universe, but very grievous and burdensome to those individuals who, by their own misconduct, are obliged to submit to it. The test of this his behaviour, is *doing good—that is, co-operating with his Creator, as far as his narrow sphere of action will permit, in the production of hap-*

piness. And thus the happiness and misery of a future state will be the just reward or punishment of promoting or preventing happiness in this. So artificially by this means is the nature of all human virtue and vice contrived, that their rewards and punishments are woven, as it were, in their very essence; their immediate effects give us a foretaste of their future, and their fruits in the present life are the proper samples of what they must unavoidably produce in another. We have reason given us to distinguish these consequences, and regulate our conduct; and, lest that should neglect its post, conscience also is appointed as an instinctive kind of monitor, perpetually to remind us both of our interest and our duty.'

Si sic omnia dixisset! To this account of the essence of vice and virtue, it is only necessary to add, that the consequences of human action being sometimes uncertain, and sometimes remote, it is not possible in many cases for most men, nor in all cases for any man, to determine what actions will ultimately produce happiness; and therefore it was proper that *Revelation* should lay down a rule to be followed invariably in opposition to appearances, and in every change of circumstances, by which we may be certain to promote the general felicity, and be set free from the dangerous temptation of *doing Evil that Good may come*.

Because it may easily happen, and in effect will happen very frequently, that our own private happiness may be promoted by an act injurious to others, when yet no man can be obliged by nature to prefer ultimately the happiness of others to his own; therefore, to the instructions of infinite Wisdom it was necessary that infinite Power should add penal sanctions. That every man to whom those instructions shall be imparted may know, that he can never ultimately injure himself by benefiting others, or ultimately by injuring others benefit himself; but that however the lot of the good and bad may be huddled together in the seeming confusion of our present state, the time shall undoubtedly come, when the most virtuous will be most happy.

12. I am sorry that the remaining part of this Letter is not equal to the first. The author has indeed engaged in a disquisition in which we need not wonder if he fails, in the solution

of questions on which philosophers have employed their abilities from the earliest times,

And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.*—MILTON.

He denies that man was created *perfect*, because the system requires subordination, and because the power of losing his perfection, of 'rendering himself wicked and miserable, is the highest imperfection imaginable.' Besides, the regular gradations of the scale of being required somewhere 'such a creature as man with all his infirmities about him, and the total removal of those would be altering his nature, and when he became perfect he must cease to be man.'

I have already spent some considerations on the *scale of being*, of which yet I am obliged to renew the mention whenever a new argument is made to rest upon it; and I must therefore again remark, that consequences cannot have greater certainty than the postulate from which they are drawn, and that no system can be more hypothetical than this, and perhaps no hypothesis more absurd.

He again deceives himself with respect to the perfection with which *man* is held to be originally vested. 'That man came perfect, that is, endued with all possible perfection, out of the hands of his Creator, is a false notion, derived from the philosophers.—The universal system required subordination, and consequently comparative imperfection.' That *man was ever endued with all possible perfection*, that is, with all perfection of which the idea is not contradictory, or destructive of itself, is undoubtedly *false*. But it can hardly be called a *false notion*, because no man ever thought it, nor can it be derived from the *philosophers*; for without pretending to guess what philosophers he may mean, it is very safe to affirm that no philosopher ever said it. Of those who now maintain that *man* was once perfect, who may very easily be found, let the author inquire whether man was ever omniscient, whether he was ever omnipotent, whether he ever had even the lower power of archangels or angels. Their answers will soon inform him, that the supposed perfection of *man* was not absolute, but *respective*, that he was perfect in a sense consistent enough

* *Paradise Lost*, ii. 561.

with subordination; perfect, not as compared with different beings, but with himself in his present degeneracy; not perfect as an angel, but perfect as man.

From this perfection, whatever it was, he thinks it necessary that man should be debarred, because pain is necessary to the good of the Universe; and the pain of one order of beings extending its salutary influence to innumerable orders above and below, it was necessary that man should suffer: but because it is not suitable to justice that pain should be inflicted on innocence, it was necessary that man should be criminal.

This is given as a satisfactory account of the Original of moral Evil, which amounts only to this, that God created beings whose guilt He foreknew, in order that He might have proper objects of pain, because the pain of part is, no man knows how or why, necessary to the felicity of the whole.

The perfection which man once had, may be so easily conceived, that without any unusual strain of imagination we can figure its revival. All the duties to God or man that are neglected, we may fancy performed; all the crimes that are committed, we may conceive forborne. Man will then be restored to his moral perfections: and into what head can it enter, that by this change the Universal System would be shaken, or the condition of any order of beings altered for the worse?

EXTRACTS

FROM

DR. WARTON'S EDITION OF POPE'S WORKS.

1. The subject of this Essay is a vindication of Providence, in which the poet proposes to prove—that of all possible systems infinite Wisdom has formed the best; that, in such a system, coherence, union, subordination are necessary; and if so, that appearances of evil, both moral and natural, are also necessary and unavoidable; that the seeming defects and blemishes in the universe conspire to its general beauty; that, as all parts in an animal are not eyes, and as in a city, comedy, or picture, all ranks, characters, and colours are not equal or alike, even so, excesses and contrary qualities contribute to the proportion and harmony of the universal system. That it is not strange that we should not be able to discover perfection and order in every instance; because, in an infinity of things mutually relative, a mind which sees not infinitely can see nothing fully.

2. This doctrine was inculcated by Plato and the Stoics, but more amply and particularly by the later Platonists, and by Antoninus and Simplicius.

In illustrating this subject, Pope has been much more deeply indebted to the 'Théodicée' of Leibnitz, to Archbishop King's 'Origin of Evil,' and to the 'Moralists' of Lord Shaftesbury (particularly the last), than to the philosophers above mentioned. *The late Lord Bathurst repeatedly assured me that he had read the whole scheme of the 'Essay on Man' in the hand-*

writing of Bolingbroke, and drawn up in a series of propositions, which Pope was to amplify, versify, and illustrate. In doing which our poet, it must be confessed, left several passages so expressed as to be favourable to fatalism and necessity, notwithstanding all the pains that can be taken, and the artful turns that can be given to those passages, to place them on the side of religion, and make them coincide with the fundamental doctrines of Revelation. How could Pope, in the letter which he wrote to Racine (the son) 1742, venture to say that his opinions were exactly conformable to those of Pascal, who, throughout all his 'Thoughts,' is incessantly inculcating the absolute necessity of believing that man is in a fallen and degraded state—an opinion which is strongly denied in every line of the 'Essay on Man'? Pope has indeed inadvertently borrowed some passages from Pascal, but they have only served to make this system more inconsistent. For how can man be a 'chaos of thought and passion all confused,' and yet be 'as perfect a being as he ought to be'?

3. The doctrine obviously intended to be inculcated in this Essay is—that the dispensations of Providence, in the distribution of good and evil in this life, stand in no need of any hypothesis to justify them; all is adjusted in the most perfect order: whatever is, is right; and we have no occasion to call in the notion of a future life to vindicate the ways of God to man, because they are fully and sufficiently benevolent and just in the present.

4. If we cannot subscribe, on one hand, to Dr. Warburton's opinion, 'that these Epistles have a precision, force, and closeness of connection rarely to be met with even in the most formal treatises of philosophy,' yet neither can we assent to the severe sentence that Dr. Johnson has passed, on the other hand, namely, 'that penury of knowledge and vulgarity of sentiment were never so happily disguised as in this Essay; the reader feels his mind full, though he learns nothing, and when he meets it in its new array, no longer knows the talk of his mother and his nurse.'

EXTRACTS
FROM
REV. W. ELWIN'S EDITION OF
POPE'S WORKS.

1. The text of Pope's poems is more easily settled than elucidated. No other poet so near to our own times presents equal difficulties. His satires abound in uncertain allusions and controverted topics which require a large amount of illustration and discussion. His philosophy was not understood by himself, and it is a study to disentangle his confused arguments and interpret his doubtful language. He often expressed his opinions with wilful ambiguity, took refuge in equivocations, or had recourse to falsehoods, and we are constantly forced upon perplexing investigations to recover the truth he endeavoured to conceal. Fortunately his best poems and choicest passages are least encumbered with puzzling questions, and his obscurities have not much interfered with his popularity, because the mass of readers are content to enjoy the beauties and leave the enigmas unsolved.

2. Pope starts from the premise of Leibnitz. He assumes the infinite wisdom of the Deity, and concludes that this wisdom must have formed the best possible system. But to a great extent he differed from Leibnitz with regard to the cause of the several kinds of evil; and his optimism was of an adulterate, untenable kind. He did not allow that moral evil *was the pernicious abuse of a free will, with which we are endowed because men are preferable to automaton, moral*

agents to passive machines. He held that moral evil was in itself a good, and that God was the author of it. He it is who 'pours fierce ambition into Cæsar's mind;' and Nature no more requires 'men for ever temperate, calm, and wise' than 'eternal springs and cloudless skies.' God can do no wrong: man is the puppet of God; and whatever is, is consequently right; yet in other passages Pope treats man as an accountable being who departs from the commands of his Maker.

3. Individuals, according to Pope, must suffer, that the laws of matter may not be infringed. Leibnitz rejected this principle. 'That which is an evil for me,' he said, 'would not cease to be an evil because it would be good for some one else. The good which pervades the universe consists among other things in this, that the general good is the particular good of every one who loves the Author of all good.' So he says again, 'we suffer often from the misdeeds of others; but when we have no share in the crime, we may hold it for certain that the sufferings procure us a greater happiness.'

AN
ESSAY ON MAN,
IN FOUR EPISTLES
TO
HENRY ST. JOHN, LORD BOLINGBROKE.

THE DESIGN.

HAVING proposed to write some pieces on human life and manners, such as, to use my Lord Bacon's expression, come home to men's business and bosoms, I thought it more satisfactory to begin with considering man in the abstract, his nature and his state; since to prove any moral duty, to enforce any moral precept, or to examine the perfection or imperfection of any creature whatsoever, it is necessary first to know what condition and relation it is placed in, and what is the proper end and purpose of its being.

The science of human nature is, like all other sciences, reduced to a few clear points. There are not many certain truths in this world. It is therefore in the anatomy of the mind as in that of the body, more good will accrue to mankind by attending to the large, open, and perceptible parts, than by studying too much such finer nerves and vessels, the conformations and uses of which will for ever escape our observation. The disputes are all upon these last, and, I will venture to say, they have less sharpened the wits than the hearts of men against

each other, and have diminished the practice, more than advanced the theory of morality. If I could flatter myself that this Essay* has any merit, it is in steering betwixt the extremes of doctrines seemingly opposite, in passing over terms utterly unintelligible, and in forming a temperate, yet not inconsistent, and a short, yet not imperfect, system of ethics.

This I might have done in prose; but I chose verse, and even rhyme, for two reasons. The one will appear obvious: that principles, maxims, or precepts so written both strike the reader more strongly at first, and are more easily retained by him afterwards. The other may seem odd, but is true. I found I could express them more shortly this way than in prose itself; and nothing is more certain, than that much of the force as well as grace of arguments or instructions depends on their conciseness. I was unable to treat this part of my subject more in detail, without becoming dry and tedious: or more poetically, without sacrificing perspicuity to ornament, without wandering from the precision, or breaking the chain of reasoning. If any man can unite all these, without diminution of any of them, I freely confess he will compass a thing above my capacity.

What is now published is only to be considered as a general map of man, marking out no more than the greater parts, their extent, their limits, and their connection, but leaving the particular to be more fully delineated in the charts which are to follow. Consequently, these Epistles, in their progress (if I have health and leisure to make any progress) will be less dry, and more susceptible of poetical ornament. I am here only opening the fountains, and clearing the passage. To deduce the rivers, to follow them in their course, and to observe their effects, may be a task more agreeable.

* The substantive as well as the verb *essay* was, in Pope's time, accented on the second syllable.

EPISTLE I.

ARGUMENT.

Of the Nature and State of Man with respect to the Universe.

Of Man in the abstract.—I. That we can judge only with regard to our own system, being ignorant of the relations of systems and things, verse 17, etc. II. That man is not to be deemed imperfect, but a being suited to his place and rank in the creation, agreeable to the general order of things, and conformable to ends and relations to him unknown, verse 35, etc. III. That it is partly upon his ignorance of future events, and partly upon the hope of a future state, that all his happiness in the present depends, verse 77, etc. IV. The pride of aiming at more knowledge, and pretending to more perfection, the cause of man's error and misery. The impiety of putting himself in the place of God, and judging the fitness or unfitness, perfection or imperfection, justice or injustice of His dispensations, verse 113, etc. V. The absurdity of conceiving himself the final cause of the creation, or expecting that perfection in the moral world, which is not in the natural, verse 131, etc. VI. The unreasonableness of his complaints against Providence, while on the one hand he demands the perfections of the angels, and on the other the bodily qualifications of the brutes; though, to possess any of the sensitive faculties in a higher degree would render him miserable, verse 173, etc. VII. That throughout the whole visible world, a universal order and gradation in the sensual and mental faculties is observed, which causes a subordination of creature to creature, and of all creatures to man. The gradations of sense, instinct, thought, reflection, reason; that reason alone countervails all the other faculties, verse 207, etc. VIII. How much farther this order and subordination of living creatures may extend, above and below us; were any part of which broken, not that part only, but the whole connected creation, must be destroyed, verse 233, etc. IX. The extravagance, madness, and pride of such a desire, verse 259, etc. X. The consequence of all, the absolute submission due to Providence, both as to our present and future state, verse 281, etc., to the end.

AWAKE, my St. John! leave all meaner things
 To low ambition and the pride of kings.
 Let us, since life can little more supply
 Than just to look about us and to die,
 Expatiate free o'er all this scene of man; 5
 A mighty maze! but not without a plan;
 A wild, where weeds and flowers promiscuous shoot;
 Or garden tempting with forbidden fruit.
 Together let us beat this ample field,
 Try what the open, what the covert yield; 10
 The latent tracts, the giddy heights, explore,
 Of all who blindly creep, or sightless soar;
 Eye Nature's walks, shoot Folly as it flies,
 And catch the manners living as they rise;

1. *St. John.*] Pronounced *Sin'jun*. Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, was born in 1678, about ten years before Pope, whom he survived about eight years. He for some time favoured the cause of the Pretender, on account of which he was obliged to flee into exile in France. Here he remained upwards of seven years, keeping up correspondence with Pope, Swift, and other literary friends. He entertained sentiments opposed to Christianity, and is known to have perverted the mind of Pope by suggestions which prompted the composition of the *Essay on Man*. Lord Bolingbroke's writings possess very little merit apart from their style, in which he set an example that conduced much to the improvement of popular literature.

Meaner things.] Things *meaner than Man*; the comparative has reference to the subject

expressed in the prefixed title.

6. *A mighty maze, &c.*] In the first edition the line ran thus—'A mighty maze of walks without a plan.' Pope afterwards substituted the present reading; for, as Dr. Johnson observes, 'if there was no plan, it was in vain to describe or to trace the maze.'

9. *Beat this ample field.*] A metaphorical reference to the practice of rousing game by beating the bushes, &c.

12. *Who blindly creep, &c.*] Who creep too low or soar too high to see properly around them: both failing to be directed by reason.

13. *Eye Nature's walks.*] Mark the design and procedure of Nature.

Shoot Folly as it flies.] A continuation of the metaphorical reference to hunting. Pope here probably remembered his favourite Dryden's language—

Laugh where we must, be candid where we can ; 15
But vindicate the ways of God to man.

I. Say first, of God above or man below
What can we reason but from what we know ?
Of man, what see we but his station here,
From which to reason, or to which refer ? 20
Through worlds unnumbered though the God be known,
'Tis ours to trace Him only in our own.
He who through vast immensity can pierce,
See worlds on worlds compose one universe,
Observe how system into system runs, 25
What other planets circle other suns,
What varied being peoples every star,
May tell why Heaven has made us as we are.

'Observes and shoots their treasons as they fly.' *Absalom and Achitophel*.

14. *Catch the manners, &c.*] Note and exhibit the living manners of mankind as they spring up. An allusion to game snared as it rises, and, taken alive.

15. *Be candid where we can.*] Show candour wherever we have opportunity; make all reasonable allowances. Awkwardly expressed; for *candid* cannot signify *lenient*.

16. *But vindicate, &c.*] Compare Milton, *P. L.* i. 24:

'That to the height of this great argument
I may assert eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men.'

Pope's aim, though stated in imitation of Milton's language, was lamentably far below the *height of Milton's argument*.

We may here remark that this unfinished poem *essays* or attempts *A Vindication of the Ways of God to Man*, rather than constitutes *An Essay on Man*.

17. *Of God above, &c.*] What can we argue, or deduce, respecting God above, &c.?

19. *What see we, &c.*] What do we see to reason from, or to refer to, but his condition here?

21. *Though the God be known.*] Though the God who created and governs them is made known.

26. *Circle.*] Milton had used the word as a transitive verb signifying sometimes *move round*, but oftener *encircle*; thus in *P. L.* v. 861, 'When fatal course had circled his full orb;'—iii. 625, 'A golden tier circled his head;'—see also v. 154, vi. 743, ix. 64.

But of this frame the bearings and the ties,
 The strong connections, nice dependencies, 30
 Gradations just, has thy pervading soul
 Looked through? or can a part contain the whole?
 Is the great chain that draws all to agree,
 And drawn supports, upheld by God or thee? 34

II. Presumptuous man! the reason wouldst thou find,
 Why formed so weak, so little, and so blind?—
 First, if thou canst, the harder reason guess,
 Why formed no weaker, blinder, and no less?
 Ask of thy mother earth, why oaks are made
 Taller and stronger than the weeds they shade! 40
 Or ask of yonder argent fields above
 Why Jove's satellites are less than Jove!
 Of systems possible, if 'tis confessed
 That wisdom infinite must form the best,
 Where all must full or not coherent be, 45
 And all that rises rise in due degree,

29. *This frame.*] 'This universal frame,' as Bacon called it (*Essay on Atheism*), and Milton (*P. L.* v. 154).

34. *And drawn supports.*] And supports it thus drawn. 'The great chain' is an allusion to what Homer (*Il.* viii. 19) says of the golden chain depending from the throne of Jupiter—

'The chain that's fixed to the throne of Jove,
 On which the fabric of the world depends.'—WALLER.

Bacon in his *Advancement of Learning*, Bk. i. § 1, says—
 'The highest link of Nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair.' See, in *Ben Jonson's Masques (Hymens)*, a note on the line 'Such

was the golden chain let down from heaven,' where he refers to Plato's *Theætetus*, i. 153.

37. *The harder reason, &c.*] The presumptuous discontent of man makes him unworthy of his rank, and therefore we should wonder that he has been 'formed no weaker, blinder, and no less.'

41. *Argent fields.*] An expression in Milton's *P. L.* iii. 460.

42. *Satellites.*] Here a quadrisyllable: the Latin plural of *satelles*, a body-guard or attendant. Jupiter has four satellites or moons.

45. *Where all must full, &c.*] Pope here imitates the doctrine of Leibnitz, that the universe of life consists of all possible

Then, in the scale of reasoning life, 'tis plain
 There must be somewhere such a rank as Man :
 And all the question (wrangle e'er so long)
 Is only this, if God has placed him wrong. 50

Respecting man whatever wrong we call,
 May, must, be right as relative to all.
 In human works, though laboured on with pain,
 A thousand movements scarce one purpose gain ;
 In God's, one single can its end produce, 55
 Yet serves to second too some other use.
 So man, who here seems principal alone,
 Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown,
 Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal ;—
 'Tis but a part we see, and not a whole. 60

When the proud steed shall know why man restrains
 His fiery course, or drives him o'er the plains ;
 When the dull ox, why now he breaks the clod,
 Is now a victim, and now Egypt's god ;
 Then shall man's pride and dulness comprehend 65
 His action's, passion's, being's, use and end ;
 Why doing, suffering, checked, impelled ; and why
 This hour a slave, the next a deity.

creatures in a gradually ascending order, and placed in spheres respectively adapted for them. He argues that a full creation thus arranged is necessary to form a coherent whole, and that such a rank as man must somewhere occur in it. See Introductory Comments, 6. The idea, however, of a chain of being was adopted by Bolingbroke and Pope immediately from Archbishop King's *Origin of Evil*.

52. *To all.*] To the general

whole; to the Universe at large.

55. *One single.*] One single movement.

56. *Serves to second, &c.*] Serves also some secondary purpose.

58. *Sphere.*] Rank or order.

64. *Egypt's god.*] Apis, the sacred ox worshipped at Memphis.

65. *Pride and dulness.*] Qualities that have just been attributed respectively to the steed and the ox.

Then say not man's imperfect, Heaven in fault ;
 Say rather, man's as perfect as he ought : 70
 His knowledge measured to his state and place,
 His time a moment, and a point his space.
 If to be perfect in a certain sphere,—
 What matter, soon or late, or here or there ?
 The blest to-day is as completely so, 75
 As who began a thousand years ago.

III. Heaven from all creatures hides the book of fate,
 Ail but the page prescribed, their present state ;
 From brutes what men, from men what spirits know ;
 Or who could suffer being here below ? 80
 The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,
 Had he thy reason, would he skip and play ?

70. *Ought.*] This word is put for rhyme with *fault* ; Fr. *faute*. The same in 'Eloisa to Abelard,' 183. Pope always suppressed the *l* in his pronunciation of *fault* ; it rhymes with *thought* in his *January and May*, 165, and with *groat* in the 14th line of his *Imitations of Horace*, ii. 6.

72. *His time a moment, &c.*] The poet here represents man as possessing only the present moment and the spot or position he occupies at that moment, having lost the past, and not realised the future.

73-76. *If to be perfect, &c.*] This passage is ill constructed and obscure ; but it may be explained as follows : If he is to be perfect in his own proper sphere, to have such perfection as that sphere admits, what does it matter at what moment of *time* or point of space he exists *thus perfect* ? *He who is blest to-day is as completely in pos-*

session of the bliss as he is who began to be so a thousand years ago.

This is, indeed, 'vain philosophy,' confounding two very different things—*happiness* and *momentary pleasure*.

77. *Heaven from all creatures, &c.*] Compare Horace, *Od.* iii. xxix. 29 :

'Prudens futuri temporis exitum
 Caliginosâ nocte premit Deus.'

78. *Prescribed.*] Appointed, ordained.

79. *From brutes.*] Hides from brutes.

'To each unthinking being Heaven a friend,
 Gives not the useless knowledge of its end.'—*Ep.* iii. 71.

80. *Suffer being.*] Endure existence.

81. *Riot.*] Luxurious revel. See St. Pet. ii. 13, Rom. xiii. 13, Milton's P. L. xi. 715, and *Comus*, 762.

Pleased to the last, he crops the flowery food,
 And licks the hand just raised to shed his blood.
 Oh blindness to the future ! kindly given, 85
 That each may fill the circle marked by Heaven :
 Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
 A hero perish, or a sparrow fall,
 Atoms or systems into ruin hurled,
 And now a bubble burst, and now a world. 90
 Hope humbly then ; with trembling pinions soar ;
 Wait the great teacher Death, and God adore.
 What future bliss, He gives not thee to know,
 But gives that hope to be thy blessing now.
 Hope springs eternal in the human breast : 95
 Man never *is*, but always *to be* blest.
 The soul, uneasy and confined from home,
 Rests and expatiates in a life to come.
 Lo, the poor Indian ! whose untutored mind
 Sees God in clouds, or hears Him in the wind : 100
 His soul proud science never taught to stray
 Far as the solar walk or milky way ;
 Yet simple nature to his hope has given,
 Behind the cloud-topt hill, an humbler heaven ;
 Some safer world in depths of woods embraced, 106
 Some happier island in the watery waste,

87. *Sees with equal eye, &c.*] Takes equal cognisance of the fall of a hero and that of a sparrow. Pope, while here remembering that Christ said of the sparrows—'One of them shall not fall to the ground without your Father,' was not disregarding His accompanying words to the disciples—'Ye are of more value than many sparrows.'

93. *What future bliss.*] What future bliss will be.

102. *The solar walk.*] The ecliptic; the sun's apparent path in the heavens.

104. *An humbler heaven.*] That is, lower than the milky way, which ancient opinion assigned as an abode for the spirits of the just. The Indian's 'life to come' is again referred to in Ep. iv. 177.

Where slaves once more their native land behold,
 No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.
To be contents his natural desire ;
 He asks no angel's wing, no seraph's fire ; 110
 But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
 His faithful dog shall bear him company.

IV. Go, wiser thou ! and in thy scale of sense
 Weigh thy opinion against Providence ;
 Call imperfection what thou fanciest such, 115
 Say, Here He gives too little, there too much !
 Destroy all creatures for thy sport or gust,
 Yet cry, If man's unhappy, God's unjust ;
 If man alone ingross not Heaven's high care,
 Alone made perfect here, immortal there : 120
 Snatch from His hand the balance and the rod,
 Re-judge His justice, be the god of God.
 In pride, in reasoning pride, our error lies ;
 All quit their sphere and rush into the skies.
 Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes, 125
 Men would be angels, angels would be gods.
 Aspiring to be gods if angels fell,
 Aspiring to be angels men rebel :
 And who but wishes to invert the laws
 Of order, sins against the Eternal Cause. 130

V. Ask for what end the heavenly bodies shine?
 Earth for whose use ? Pride answers, 'Tis for mine ;
 For me kind Nature wakes her genial power,
 Suckles each herb, and spreads out every flower ;

110. *No seraph's fire.*] The seraphim, or *burning ones*, were thought to be specially characterised by fervour, the cherubim, or *understanding ones*, by *discernment*. See l. 278.

111. *Admitted, &c.*] That his *faithful dog*, admitted to that

region of equity, &c.

113. *Wiser thou.*] Thou wiser than the untutored Indian.

121. *The rod.*] The measuring rod.

129. *Who but wishes.*] He who even wishes.

Annual for me, the grape, the rose, renew 135
 The juice nectareous and the balmy dew ;
 For me the mine a thousand treasures brings ;
 For me health gushes from a thousand springs ;
 Seas roll to waft me, suns to light me rise ;
 My footstool earth, my canopy the skies !' 140

But errs not Nature from this gracious end,
 From burning suns when livid deaths descend,
 When earthquakes swallow, or when tempests sweep
 Towns to one grave, whole nations to the deep ?
 'No,' 'tis replied, 'the first Almighty Cause 145
 Acts not by partial but by general laws :
 The exceptions few ; some change since all began ;
 And what created perfect ?'—Why then man ?

136. *Nectareous.*] This is the proper adjectival form, from the Latin *nectareus*. Milton, however, has *nectarous*. *P. L.* v. 306, vi. 332.

139. *Suns.*] That is, the suns of successive days.

140. *My footstool earth, &c.*] These words too nearly echo that declaration of the Almighty, 'The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool' (Isaiah lxvi. 1). And we cannot acquit the poet of irreverence in his imitation of it. But the expression, 'My canopy the skies,' regarded as Pride's answer to the question, 'For what end the heavenly bodies shine?' is very different, both in language and import, from the first part of the above quotation from Isaiah.

141. *Errs.*] Deviates.

This gracious end.] The end stated in the ten preceding lines.

143. *When earthquakes swallow, &c.*] An earthquake in 1622

swallowed 300,000 inhabitants of Pekin ; another, in 1693, destroyed upwards of 50 towns in Sicily. No country is more frequently visited with earthquakes than Chili, and Pope probably had in mind the calamitous shocks and inundations which occurred there in 1732, and destroyed many thousands of lives. By the inundation of Jutland in 1634 about 15,000 persons were drowned. *Whole nations* is the language of hyperbole.

145. *The first Almighty Cause, &c.*] Repeated in Ep. iv. 36.

147. *The exceptions few, &c.*] The exceptions having been few ; some variation from the general rule having occurred in the long period that has elapsed since the beginning of creation. Pope's admissions are here introduced with a very bad grace ; they were probably the expression of a vague thought not suggested by any particular in-

If the great end be *human* happiness,
 Then Nature deviates; and can man do less? 150
 As much that end a constant course requires
 Of showers and sunshine, as of man's desires:
 As much eternal springs and cloudless skies,
 As men for ever temperate, calm, and wise.
 If plagues or earthquakes break not Heaven's design, 155
 Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?
 Who knows but He, whose hand the lightning forms,
 Who heaves old ocean, and who wings the storms,
 Pours fierce ambition in a Cæsar's mind,
 Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind? 160
 From pride, from pride our very reasoning springs;
 Account for moral, as for natural things:
 Why charge we Heaven in those, in these acquit?
 In both, to reason right is to submit.

stances which he would incline to regard as exceptions to the general rule.

149. *If the great end, &c.* If the happiness of *man* be the chief end which Nature designs all things to subserve, then Nature does deviate from her design, as in the instance of plagues or earthquakes.

156. *Why then a Borgia, &c.* Why then should we say a Borgia or a Catiline acts contrary to Heaven's design?

Cesare Borgia, a natural son of Pope Alexander VI., is noted in Italian history for his enormous crimes. He murdered his own brother and attempted to poison several of the cardinals. He was killed in battle in 1507.

Lucius Sergius Catilina was guilty of many crimes in connection with his infamous con-

spiracy, of which Sallust wrote a history.

160. *Young Ammon.*] Alexander the Great. Jupiter was worshipped in Libya under the name of Ammon, and when Alexander visited the Temple of Ammon he bribed the priests to salute him as the son of their god, and to claim divine honours for him from his soldiers. In Pope's Epistle to Lord Bathurst, Alexander is called 'Ammon's great son,' and in the *Essay on Criticism*, 376, 'the son of Libyan Jove.' Alexander's desire to be thought the son of Jupiter Ammon made him imitate on his coins the horned head of that deity; in reference to which Pope says, in his *Temple of Fame*, 154, 'And his horned head belied the Libyan god.'

Better for us, perhaps, it might appear, 165
 Were there all harmony, all virtue here ;
 That never air or ocean felt the wind ;
 That never passion discomposed the mind.
 But all subsists by elemental strife ;
 And passions are the elements of life. 170
 The general order, since the whole began,
 Is kept in nature, and is kept in man.

VI. What would this man ? Now upward will he soar,
 And, little less than angel, would be more !
 Now looking downwards, just as grieved appears 175
 To want the strength of bulls, the fur of bears.
 Made for his use all creatures if he call,
 Say what their use, had he the powers of all ?
 Nature to these without profusion kind,
 The proper organs, proper powers assigned ; 180
 Each seeming want compensated of course,
 Here with degrees of swiftness, there of force :
 All in exact proportion to the state ;
 Nothing to add, and nothing to abate :
 Each beast, each insect, happy in its own : 185
 Is Heaven unkind to man, and man alone ?
 Shall he alone, whom rational we call,
 Be pleased with nothing, if not blest with all ?

The bliss of man (could pride that blessing find)
 Is—not to act or think beyond mankind ; 190
 No powers of body or of soul to share,
 But what his nature and his state can bear.

169. *But all subsists, &c.*] Fire, air, earth, and water are usefully antagonistic ; so are the passions.

174. *Little less than angel.*] Ps. viii. 5, 'Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels.'

175. *Grieved.*] Injured, ag-grieved.

184. *Nothing to add, &c.*] So as to add nothing to and to abate nothing from what the state required.

185. *Its own.*] *Its own state.*

Why has not man a microscopic eye ?
 For this plain reason, man is not a fly.
 Say what the use, were finer optics given, 195
 To inspect a mite, not comprehend the heaven ?
 Or touch, if tremblingly alive all o'er,
 To smart and agonise at every pore !
 Or quick effluvia darting through the brain,
 Die of a rose in aromatic pain ? 200
 If Nature thundered in his opening ears,
 And stunned him with the music of the spheres,

193. *Why has not man, &c.*] Warton traces this to Locke's *Essay of the Human Understanding*, ii. 13, 'If man had a microscopical eye, and could penetrate into the secret composition and radical texture of bodies, he would not make any advantage by the change if such an acute sight would not serve to conduct him to the market and exchange, if he could not see things he was to avoid at a convenient distance,' &c.

196. *Not comprehend the heaven.*] Not see to such extent around him as his necessities require.

197. *Or touch, &c.*] The construction is: Or if there were given touch tremblingly alive all over (the effect of which would be) to smart and agonise at every pore, or quick effluvia darting through the brain (the effect of which would be) to die of a rose in aromatic pain.

198. *Agonise.*] Writhe.

202. *The music of the spheres.*] Referring to the Pythagorean doctrine, that the rapid motion of the planets produced musical

sounds, the loudness and constancy of which made mortal sense inobservant of them. Several of our poets have beautiful allusions to the music of the spheres—'the sphyry chime,' as Milton calls it in *Comus*, 1021. Thus Campbell in the concluding paragraph of the *Pleasures of Hope*:

'Eternal Hope, when yonder spheres
 sublime
 Pealed their first notes to sound the
 march of Time,
 Thy joyous youth began.'

In Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (v. 1) Lorenzo says to Jessica:

'There's not the smallest orb which
 thou beholdest
 But in his motion like an angel sings.'

Milton (*P. L.* v. 177) refers to 'wandering fires that move in mystic dance, not without song;' while, on the contrary, Addison, in his *Hymn on Creation*, says:

'What though no real voice nor sound
 Amid their radiant orbs be found,
 In Reason's ear they all rejoice,
 And utter forth a glorious voice,' &c.

Warburton and others have argued, without sufficient reason,

How would he wish that Heaven had left him still
 The whispering zephyr and the purling rill !
 Who finds not Providence all good and wise, 205
 Alike in what it gives, and what denies ?

VII. Far as creation's ample range extends,
 The scale of sensual, mental powers ascends.
 Mark how it mounts to man's imperial race,
 From the green myriads in the peopled grass ; 210
 What modes of sight betwixt each wide extreme,
 The mole's dim curtain, and the lynx's beam :
 Of smell, the headlong lioness between
 And hound sagacious on the tainted green :
 Of hearing, from the life that fills the flood, 215
 To that which warbles through the vernal wood !
 The spider's touch, how exquisitely fine !
 Feels at each thread, and lives along the line :

that the *music of the spheres*, being *no real sound*, should not have been referred to by Pope for illustration of a philosophical argument. Locke (*Essay*, ii. 13) says : 'If our sense of hearing were but one thousand times quicker than it is, how would a perpetual noise distract us ! We should in the quietest retirement be less able to sleep or meditate than in the middle of a sea-fight.'

211. *Each wide extreme.*] The two wide extremes.

212. *The mole's dim curtain, &c.*] The eyes of the mole are very small, almost rudimentary, and so *curtained* with fur that for a long time it was supposed to have no eyes at all. The extraordinary quickness of sight attributed to the lynx is fabulous.

213. *Of smell.*] What modes

of smell.

The headlong lioness.] The expressive epithet here refers to the random manner in which the lioness roams about in quest of prey, not being directed by scent.

214. *Tainted.*] Infected with the scent of an animal that has passed over it. Compare Pope's *Windsor Forest*, 101, 'The tainted gales the game betray.'

215. *Of hearing.*] What modes of hearing.

218. *Feels at each thread, &c.*] The beauty and suggestive force of this brief description are admirable. Mark the comparative feebleness of what Sir John Davies, in his *Nosce teipsum*, says on the same subject :

'If aught doth touch the utmost
 thread of it,
 She feels it instantly on every side.'

In the nice bee, what sense so subtly true
 From poisonous herbs extracts the healing dew ! 220
 How instinct varies in the grovelling swine,
 Compared, half-reasoning elephant, with thine !
 'Twixt that and reason, what a nice barrier !
 For ever separate, yet for ever near !
 Remembrance and reflection, how allied ; 225
 What thin partitions sense from thought divide ;
 And middle natures, how they long to join,
 Yet never pass the insuperable line !
 Without this just gradation, could they be
 Subjected, these to those, or all to thee ? 230
 The powers of all subdued by thee alone,
 Is not thy reason all these powers in one ?

VIII. See, through this air, this ocean, and this earth,
 All matter quick, and bursting into birth.
 Above, how high progressive life may go ! 235
 Around, how wide ! how deep extend below !
 Vast chain of being ! which from God began,
 Natures ethereal, human ; angel, man ;
 Beast, bird, fish, insect, what no eye can see,
 No glass can reach ; from infinite to thee, 240
 From thee to nothing ! On superior powers
 Were we to press, inferior might on ours ;
 Or in the full creation leave a void,
 Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroyed :

219. *Nice.*] Nicely discriminating.

223. *Barrier.*] This word is now accented on the first syllable. Fr. *barrière*.

227. *Middle natures, &c.*] How each middle nature tries to reach the place of that above it.

231. *Subdued.*] Being subdued or controlled.

232. *All these powers in one.*]

A faculty as good as, or inclusive of, all these powers together. The word *one* here, according to its present pronunciation, makes an imperfect rhyme with *alone* ; but formerly it was pronounced as if spelt *oan* or *woan*.

240. *From infinite to thee, &c.*] See Extracts from Johnson's Review of Jenyns, § 4.

From Nature's chain whatever link you strike, 245
Tenth or ten-thousandth, breaks the chain alike.

And if each system in gradation roll
Alike essential to the amazing whole,
The least confusion but in one, not all
That system only, but the whole must fall. 250

Let earth unbalanced from her orbit fly,
Planets and suns run lawless through the sky ;
Let ruling angels from their spheres be hurled,
Being on being wrecked, and world on world,
Heaven's whole foundations to their centre nod, 255
And Nature trembles to the throne of God !
All this dread order break—for whom ? for thee ?
Vile worm !—Oh ! madness ! pride ! impiety !

IX. What if the foot, ordained the dust to tread,
Or hand, to toil, aspired to be the head ? 260
What if the head, the eye, or ear repined
To serve mere engines to the ruling mind ?
Just as absurd for any part to claim
To be another in this general frame ;
Just as absurd to mourn the tasks or pains 265
The great directing Mind of all ordains.

246. *Tenth or ten-thousandth, &c.*] From Waller, who, in the poem 'On the danger his Majesty escaped,' says: 'One link dissolved, the whole creation ends.'

247. *If each system, &c.*] If the planetary systems be in gradation from lower to higher rank.

249. *But in one.*] Being, or happening, but in one system.

252. *Planets and suns.*] Then, by consequence, planets and suns.

253. *Let ruling angels, &c.*] Some of the angelic hierarchs were supposed to have their seats in starry spheres. In Milton's *P. L.* iv. 564, Uriel, the Regent of the Sun, says to Gabriel:—

'This day, at height of noon, came to my sphere
A spirit.'

255. *Heaven's whole foundations, &c.*] Then, by consequence, Heaven's whole, &c.

266. *The great directing Mind of all.*] The antecedent in the

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
 Whose body Nature is, and God the soul ;
 That, changed through all, and yet in all the same, 270
 Great in the earth, as in the ethereal frame,
 Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
 Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,
 Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
 Spreads undivided, operates unspent ;
 Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part, 275
 As full, as perfect in a hair as heart ;
 As full, as perfect in vile man that mourns,
 As the rapt seraph that adores and burns :
 To Him no high, no low, no great, no small ;
 He fills, He bounds, connects, and equals all. 280

X. Cease then, nor order imperfection name :
 Our proper bliss depends on what we blame.

preposition phrase here is—not *Mind*, but—*directing Mind*; the participle, by condensation, signifying *that is the director*.

268. *Whose body, &c.*] This paragraph has been ignorantly censured by some as savouring of Pantheism. It is a devout and beautiful expatiation on the doctrine of the Divine Omnipresence.

269. *That.*] A relative pronoun, subject of the verbs *warms* and *refreshes*, and having for its antecedent *God*, regarded as the *soul* of the Universe, this antecedent being in the last two lines of the paragraph referred to by *Him* and *He*.

Changed through all, &c.] Compare Ephes. iv. 6, 'One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all;' and 1 Cor. xii. 4, 'There are differences of administra-

tions, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God who worketh all in all.'

274. *Unspent.*] The subtle felicity of this word is only very feebly explained by *unlessened* or *unimpaired*.

275. *Informs.*] Actuates; formerly a common meaning. So, *Essay on Criticism*, 76—

'In some fair body thus the informing soul
 With spirits feeds, with vigour fills
 the whole.'

See Milton's *Paradise Lost*, iii. 593. Pope elsewhere uses the verb *to act* in this sense; Ep. ii. 59, iii. 315.

276. *In a hair as heart.*] An example of the rhetorical figure *Alliteration*.

278. *The rapt seraph, &c.*] See note on line 110.

Know thy own point : this kind, this due degree
 Of blindness, weakness, Heaven bestows on thee.
 Submit : in this or any other sphere, 285
 Secure to be as blest as thou canst bear ;
 Safe in the hand of one disposing Power,
 Or in the natal, or the mortal hour.
 All nature is but art unknown to thee ;
 All chance, direction which thou canst not see ; 290
 All discord, harmony not understood ;
 All partial evil, universal good ;
 And, spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,
 One truth is clear, Whatever is, is right.

283. *Thy own point.*] Thy own main point of concern. Repeated in Ep. iv. 134.
 294. *Whatever is, is right.*] Repeated in Ep. iv. 145 and 394.
 292. *All partial evil, &c.*] Re-

EPISTLE II.

ARGUMENT.

Of the Nature and State of Man with respect to Himself, as an Individual.

- I. The business of man not to pry into God, but to study himself. His middle nature: his powers and frailties, verse 1 to 19. The limits of his capacity, verse 19, etc. II. The two principles of man, self-love and reason, both necessary, verse 53, etc. Self-love the stronger, and why, verse 67, etc. Their end the same, verse 81, etc. III. The passions, and their use, verse 93 to 130. The predominant passion, and its force, 132 to 160. Its necessity, in directing men to different purposes, verse 165, etc. Its providential use, in fixing our principle and ascertaining our virtue, verse 177. IV. Virtue and vice joined in our mixed nature; the limits near, yet the things separate and evident: what is the office of reason, verse 202 to 216. V. How odious vice in itself, and how we deceive ourselves into it, verse 217. VI. That, however, the ends of Providence and general good are answered in our passions and imperfections, verse 238, etc. How usefully these are distributed to all orders of men, verse 241. How useful they are to society, verse 251. And to individuals, verse 263. In every state, and every age of life, verse 273, etc.

I. Know then thyself, presume not God to scan,
The proper study of mankind is man.
Placed on this isthmus of a middle state,
A being darkly wise and rudely great :

1. *Know thyself.*] Gr. γνῶθι σεαυτόν, Lat. nosce teipsum. A saying ascribed by some to Solon, by others to the oracle of Apollo.

3. *A middle state.*] A state superior to what is at one ex-

tremity of it, and inferior to what is at the other.

4. *Darkly wise, &c.*] In whom ignorance and intelligence, rudeness and greatness meet together.

With too much knowledge for the Sceptic side, 5
 With too much weakness for the Stoic's pride,
 He hangs between; in doubt to act, or rest;
 In doubt to deem himself a god or beast;
 In doubt his mind or body to prefer;
 Born but to die, and reasoning but to err; 10
 Alike in ignorance, his reason such,
 Whether he thinks too little or too much;
 Chaos of thought and passion all confused;
 Still by himself abused, or disabused;
 Created half to rise, and half to fall; 15
 Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all;
 Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurled;
 The glory, jest, and riddle of the world!
 Go, wondrous creature! mount where science guides,
 Go, measure earth, weigh air, and state the tides; 20

5. *For the Sceptic side.*] For the all-doubting philosophy of Pyrrho, who denied the validity of all evidence. The word *side* is here somewhat vulgarly applied. Compare the *Essay on Criticism*, 452:—

'Some, valuing those of their own
sides or mind.'

6. *For the Stoic's pride.*] To realise the proud boast of Zeno, that complete control of the passions is practicable.

11. *His reason such.*] Such being the imperfect nature of his reason.

14. *Abused, &c.*] Deceived. The word in this sense is now seldom employed; but *disabused* in the sense of *undeceived* is not uncommon.

15. *Half to rise, &c.*] Half to be superior to other things in

this world, half to be inferior to them.

16. *A prey to all.*] Liable to be destroyed or hurt by all.

17. *Sole judge of truth, &c.*] Suggested by the following passage from Pascal's *Thoughts*:—
'What a chimera is man! What a confused chaos! What a subject of contradiction! A professed judge of all things, and yet a feeble worm of the earth! The great depository and guardian of truth, and yet a mere huddle of uncertainty! The glory and the scandal of the universe!'

19. *Go, wondrous creature! &c.*] This paragraph is intended to represent man as a wondrous mixture of greatness and weakness.

Instruct the planets in what orbs to run,
 Correct old time, and regulate the sun ;
 Go, soar with Plato to the empyreal sphere,
 To the first good, first perfect, and first fair ;
 Or tread the mazy round his followers trod, 25
 And quitting sense call imitating God ;
 As eastern priests in giddy circles run,
 And turn their heads to imitate the sun.
 Go, teach Eternal Wisdom how to rule—
 Then drop into thyself, and be a fool ! 30
 Superior beings, when of late they saw
 A mortal man unfold all Nature's law,

21. *Orbs.*] Orbits.

22. *Correct old time, &c.*] An allusion to the ascertainment of the true solar year, and the Gregorian reformation of the Calendar.

23. *To the empyreal sphere.*] The highest region of heaven pervaded by the purest element of fire, where Plato thought the ideal perfection of good, perfect, and fair was realised.

24. *First fair.*] The chief fair; the idea called by the Greeks τὸ κάλον, the seemly or comely.

25. *Or tread, &c.*] The chief of the later Platonists was Plotinus, who taught that the highest human excellence was to be attained through ecstasy or abstraction of the soul from sense, to fit it for the contemplation and imitation of the Deity.

27. *As eastern priests, &c.*] This refers to certain Fakirs or Dervishes in some Mohammedan countries, one of whose religious

customs is a dance in which they turn round with great rapidity to the sound of a pipe, and make a merit of stopping suddenly, without any signs of giddiness, when the music ceases.

31. *Superior beings, &c.*] Pope's satirical conceit here is, that angels, or beings higher 'in the scale of reasoning life' than man, must have regarded Newton as a wonderful approximation to themselves, just as we regard the ape in comparison with our own species. Our author's depreciation, in this way, of the aspirations of the human mind is seen to be ridiculous, when we consider the progressive capacity of a rational being as compared with the limitations of instinct in inferior animals.

Of late.] Towards the close of the seventeenth century.

32. *All Nature's law.*] The law of universal gravitation discovered by Sir Isaac Newton.

Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape,
 And showed a Newton, as we show an ape.
 Could he, whose rules the rapid comet bind, 35
 Describe or fix one movement of his mind?
 Who saw its fires here rise, and there descend,
 Explain his own beginning or his end?
 Alas, what wonder! Man's superior part
 Unchecked may rise, and climb from art to art; 40
 But when his own great work is but begun,
 What reason weaves, by passion is undone.

Trace science, then, with modesty thy guide;
 First strip off all her equipage of pride;
 Deduct what is but vanity, or dress, 45
 Or learning's luxury, or idleness,
 Or tricks to show the stretch of human brain,
 Mere curious pleasure, or ingenious pain;
 Expunge the whole, or lop the excrescent parts,
 Of all our vices have created arts; 50
 Then see how little the remaining sum,
 Which served the past, and must the times to come!

II. Two principles in human nature reign,—
 Self-love to urge, and reason to restrain;
 Nor this a good, nor that a bad we call, 55
 Each works its end to move or govern all:

33. *Admired.*] Marvelled at.

37. *Who saw its fires.*] Could he who saw the comet's fires?

41. *His own great work.*] The study and moral regulation of his own mind.

42. *What reason weaves, &c.*] An allusion to the story of Penelope's web in Homer's *Odyssey*.

44. *Pride.*] Display, ostenta-

tion.

49. *Expunge the whole.*] i.e., of all that the vices of our time have constituted arts.

Lop the excrescent parts.] The metaphor here is not properly introduced by *expunge*. Pope should have written 'uproot the whole.'

55. A good.] A good principle.

And to their proper operation still
Ascribe all good ; to their improper, ill.

Self-love, the spring of motion, acts the soul ;
Reason's comparing balance rules the whole. 60

Man, but for that, no action could attend,
And, but for this, were active to no end :
Fixed like a plant on his peculiar spot,
To draw nutrition, propagate, and rot ;
Or, meteor-like, flame lawless through the void, 65
Destroying others, by himself destroyed.

Most strength the moving principle requires ;
Active its task, it prompts, impels, inspires ;
Sedate and quiet the comparing lies,
Formed but to check, deliberate, and advise. 70

Self-love still stronger, as its objects nigh,
Reason's at distance and in prospect lie :
That sees immediate good by present sense ;
Reason, the future and the consequence.
Thicker than arguments temptations throng, 75
At best more watchful this, but that more strong.

The action of the stronger to suspend,
Reason still use, to reason still attend.
Attention habit and experience gains ;
Each strengthens reason, and self-love restrains. 80

Let subtle schoolmen teach these friends to fight,
More studious to divide than to unite ;

57. *Still.*] Always, ever. The same meaning in lines 71 and 78.

59. *Acts.*] Actuates. So in Ep. iii. 315, 'So two consistent motions act the soul.'

61. *Attend.*] Give his mind to.

65. *Flame.*] To flame.

69. *The comparing.*] The

comparing principle.

71. *As its objects nigh, &c.*] As its objects lie nigh, while reason's objects lie at a distance, &c.

76. *At best, &c.*] At the best self-love is the stronger, though reason is more watchful.

81. *Let subtle schoolmen, &c.*] Schoolmen are those who argue

And grace and virtue, sense and reason split,
 With all the rash dexterity of wit.
 Wits, just like fools, at war about a name, 85
 Have full as oft no meaning, or the same.
 Self-love and reason to one end aspire,
 Pain their aversion, pleasure their desire ;
 But greedy that, its object would devour,
 This taste the honey, and not wound the flower : 90
 Pleasure, or wrong or rightly understood,
 Our greatest evil, or our greatest good.

III. Modes of self-love the passions we may call ;
 'Tis real good, or seeming, moves them all :
 But since not every good we can divide, 95
 And Reason bids us for our own provide,
 Passions, though selfish, if their means be fair,
 List under Reason, and deserve her care ;

like the philosophers and divines of the middle ages. Tenneman, in his 'History of Philosophy,' says: 'It is not possible to define with accuracy the duration of the empire of scholastic philosophy. It began in the ninth century, and has in some degree survived to our own days; but the revival of classical literature and the Reformation deprived it for ever of that unlimited authority which it possessed before.' After enumerating some good results of it, Tenneman adds: 'The ill-effects were, the dissemination of a subtle and puerile spirit of speculation, the decay of sound and practical sense, with a neglect of accurate and real sciences . . . the prevalence of the dominion of authority and prescription, bad taste, and a rage for frivolous distinctions and subdivisions.'

Bacon used to call the Schoolmen *cymini sectores*, splitters of cumin seed. In his 'Essay of Studies,' he says: 'If a man's wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen, for they are *cymini sectores*.'

The most eminent of the Schoolmen were the Dominican Thomas Aquinas and the Franciscan Duns Scotus.

[*These friends*.] Reason and self-love.

93. *Modes of self-love, &c.*] The passions may be media through which self-love operates, but cannot properly be called 'modes of self-love.'

95. *Divide*.] i.e., so as to gratify particular passions.

96. *Our own*.] Our own general good.

98. *List*.] Enlist.

Those, that imparted, court a nobler aim,
 Exalt their kind, and take some virtue's name. 100
 In lazy apathy let Stoics boast
 Their virtue fixed : 'tis fixed as in a frost ;
 Contracted all, retiring to the breast ;
 But strength of mind is exercise, not rest :
 The rising tempest puts in act the soul, 105
 Parts it may ravage, but preserves the whole.
 On life's vast ocean diversely we sail,
 Reason the card, but passion is the gale ;
 Nor God alone in the still calm we find,
 He mounts the storm, and walks upon the wind. 110
 Passions, like elements, though born to fight,
 Yet, mixed and softened, in His work unite :
 These 'tis enough to temper and employ ;
 But what composes man, can man destroy ?
 Suffice that Reason keep to Nature's road, 115
 Subject, compound them, follow her and God.
 Love, hope, and joy, fair Pleasure's smiling train,
 Hate, fear, and grief, the family of Pain,

99. *Those, that imparted.*] Those passions, when that care or encouragement is imparted to them by Reason. The nominative absolute *that* is commonly, but erroneously, supposed to represent *Reason*.

101. *In lazy apathy, &c.*] The 'virtue fixed' of the Stoics was not maintained 'in lazy apathy,' but in resolute self-control and equanimity.

106. *Preserves the whole.*] As storms purify the atmosphere. See Ep. i. 165-172.

108. *The card.*] The card of the mariner's compass; called in *Macbeth* (i. 3) 'the shipman's card.'

110. *Walks upon the wind.*] Ps. civ. 3, 'Who walketh upon the wings of the wind;' xviii. 10, 'He did fly upon the wings of the wind.'

111. *Passions, like elements, &c.*] Compare Ep. i. 165-172.

114. *Composes.*] Constitutes.

115. *Suffice.*] The grammar requires *suffices*. The plural verb was suggested to Pope by the succession of the words *keep, subject, &c.* Compare Milton's *Samson Agon.* 63:

'Suffices that to me strength is my bane,
 And proves the source of all my miseries.'

116. *Her.*] Nature.

These, mixed with art, and to due bounds confined,
 Make and maintain the balance of the mind : 120
 The lights and shades, whose well-accorded strife
 Gives all the strength and colour of our life.

Pleasures are ever in our hands or eyes ;
 And when in act they cease, in prospect rise ;
 Present to grasp, and future still to find, 125
 The whole employ of body and of mind.

All spread their charms, but charm not all alike ;
 On different senses different objects strike ;
 Hence different passions more or less inflame,
 As strong or weak the organs of the frame ; 130
 And hence one master-passion in the breast,
 Like Aaron's serpent, swallows up the rest.

As man, perhaps, the moment of his breath,
 Receives the lurking principle of death ;
 The young disease, that must subdue at length, 135
 Grows with his growth, and strengthens with his strength :
 So, cast and mingled with his very frame,
 The mind's disease, its ruling passion, came ;
 Each vital humour which should feed the whole,
 Soon flows to this, in body and in soul : 140
 Whatever warms the heart, or fills the head,
 As the mind opens, and its functions spread,
 Imagination plies her dangerous art,
 And pours it all upon the peccant part.
 Nature its mother, habit is its nurse ; 145
 Wit, spirit, faculties, but make it worse ;

121. *The lights, &c.*] Being the lights, &c.

125. *Present to grasp, &c.*] To grasp present pleasures and successively to find future ones being the whole employ, &c.

132. *Like Aaron's serpent, &c.*] Exod. vii. 12.

144. *Pours it all.*] That is, whatever most warms the heart or fills the head.

Reason itself but gives its edge and power,
As Heaven's blest beam turns vinegar more sour.

We, wretched subjects, though to lawful sway,
In this weak queen some favourite still obey; 150

Ah! if she lend not arms as well as rules,
What can she more than tell us we are fools?

Teach us to mourn our nature, not to mend;

A sharp accuser, but a helpless friend!

Or from a judge turn pleader, to persuade 155

The choice we make, or justify it made;

Proud of an easy conquest all along,

She but removes weak passions for the strong.

So, when small humours gather to a gout,

The doctor fancies he has driven them out. 160

Yes, Nature's road must ever be preferred;

Reason is here no guide, but still a guard;

'Tis hers to rectify, not overthrow,

And treat this passion more as friend than foe:

A mightier power the strong direction sends, 165

And several men impels to several ends:

Like varying winds by other passions tossed,

This drives them constant to a certain coast.

150. *In this weak queen, &c.*] Always obey some favourite ruling passion that this weak queen, viz. Reason, encourages, or is influenced by.

154. *Helpless.*] Here used in the obsolete active sense, *unhelping*. In Shakespeare's *Richard III.* i. 2, Lady Anne says, 'And pour the *helpless* balm of my poor eyes.' Compare *As you like it*, ii. 1, 'Weeping in the *needless stream.*'

159. *Small humours, &c.*]

Gout, from the Fr. *goutte*, Lat. *gutta*, a drop, is a disease formerly supposed to arise from drops of morbid humour passing into the joints.

164. *And treat this passion.*] And to treat this favourite ruling passion.

167. *Like varying winds, &c.*] Tossed as they are by other passions like varying winds, this master passion drives them, &c. The participle *tossed* qualifies them.

Let power or knowledge, gold or glory, please,
 Or (oft more strong than all) the love of ease, 170
 Through life 'tis followed, even at life's expense ;
 The merchant's toil, the sage's indolence,
 The monk's humility, the hero's pride,
 All, all alike, find Reason on their side.

The Eternal Art, educing good from ill, 175
 Grafts on this passion our best principle :
 'Tis thus the mercury of man is fixed,
 Strong grows the virtue with his nature mixed ;
 The dross cements what else were too refined,
 And in one interest body acts with mind. 180

As fruits, ungrateful to the planter's care,
 On savage stocks inserted, learn to bear,
 The surest virtues thus from passions shoot,
 Wild Nature's vigour working at the root.
 What crops of wit and honesty appear 185
 From spleen, from obstinacy, hate, or fear !
 See anger, zeal and fortitude supply ;
 Even avarice, prudence ; sloth, philosophy ;
 Lust, through some certain strainers well refined,
 Is gentle love, and charms all womankind ; 190
 Envy, to which the ignoble mind's a slave,
 Is emulation in the learned or brave ;
 Nor virtue, male or female, can we name,
 But what will grow on pride, or grow on shame.

Thus Nature gives us (let it check our pride) 195
 The virtue nearest to our vice allied ;
 Reason the bias turns to good from ill,
 And Nero reigns a Titus, if he will.
 The fiery soul abhorred in Catiline,
 In Decius charms, in Curtius is divine : 200

181. *Ungrateful to.*] That do
 not requite.

200. *Decius—Curtius.*] De-
 cius, a Roman consul, to realise

The same ambition can destroy or save,
And makes a patriot as it makes a knave.

IV. This light and darkness in our chaos joined,
What shall divide? The God within the mind.

Extremes in nature equal ends produce, 205
In man they join to some mysterious use ;
Though each by turns the other's bound invade,
As, in some well-wrought picture, light and shade,
And oft so mix, the difference is too nice
Where ends the virtue, or begins the vice. 210

Fools! who from hence into the notion fall,
That vice or virtue there is none at all.
If white and black blend, soften, and unite
A thousand ways, is there no black or white?
Ask your own heart, and nothing is so plain ; 215
'Tis to mistake them costs the time and pain.

V. Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen ;
Yet, seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace : 220
But where the extreme of vice was ne'er agreed.—
Ask where's the north? at York, 'tis on the Tweed ;
In Scotland, at the Orcades ; and there,
At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where.—
No creature owns it in the first degree, 225
But thinks his neighbour farther gone than he ;

a victory conditionally promised by the augurs, sacrificed his life by rushing into the midst of the enemy. Curtius, a young Roman noble, to avert evil threatening his country, rushed on horseback *over the edge of a deep chasm, which then closed over him.*

204. *The God*] Reason. See Gen. i. 4, 'God divided,' &c.

217. *Vice is a monster, &c.*] Compare Dryden's *Hind and Panther*, i. 33 :

'For truth has such a face and such a mien,
As to be loved needs only to be seen.'

Even those who dwell beneath its very zone,
 Or never feel the rage, or never own ;
 What happier natures shrink at with affright,
 The hard inhabitant contends is right. 230

Virtuous and vicious every man must be ;
 Few in the extreme, but all in the degree :
 The rogue and fool by fits is fair and wise ;
 And even the best, by fits, what they despise.
 'Tis but by parts we follow good or ill ; 235

For, vice or virtue, self directs it still ;
 Each individual seeks a several goal ;
 But Heaven's great view is one, and that the whole.
 That counterworks each folly and caprice ;
 That disappoints the effect of every vice ; 240

That,—happy frailties to all ranks applied,
 Shame to the virgin, to the matron pride,
 Fear to the statesman, rashness to the chief,
 To kings presumption, and to crowds belief :—
 That, virtue's ends from vanity can raise, 245

Which seeks no interest, no reward but praise ;
 And build on wants, and on defects of mind,
 The joy, the peace, the glory of mankind.

Heaven forming each on other to depend,
 A master, or a servant, or a friend, 250
 Bids each on other for assistance call,
 Till one man's weakness grows the strength of all.
 Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally
 The common interest, or endear the tie.
 To these we owe true friendship, love sincere, 255
 Each home-felt joy that life inherits here ;

241. *Happy frailties, &c.*]
 Expedient frailties being ap-
 plied, &c.

245. *That, virtue's ends, &c.*]

That great design of heaven can
 make vanity conducive to the
 ends of virtue, &c.

Yet from the same we learn, in its decline,
 Those joys, those loves, those interests to resign :
 Taught half by reason, half by mere decay,
 To welcome death, and calmly pass away. 260

Whate'er the passion,—knowledge, fame, or pelf,—
 Not one will change his neighbour with himself.
 The learned is happy nature to explore,
 The fool is happy that he knows no more ;
 The rich is happy in the plenty given, 265

The poor contents him with the care of Heaven.
 See the blind beggar dance, the cripple sing,
 The sot a hero, lunatic a king ;
 The starving chemist in his golden views
 Supremely blest, the poet in his muse. 270

See some strange comfort every state attend,
 And pride bestowed on all, a common friend :
 See some fit passion every age supply,
 Hope travels through, nor quits us when we die.

Behold the child, by Nature's kindly law, 275
 Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw :
 Some livelier plaything gives his youth delight,
 A little louder, but as empty quite ;

257. *Its.*] Life's.

268. *Sot.*] Fr. *sot*. The word does not here, as has been wrongly supposed, mean *drunkard*, which implies guilt, but simply *fool* or *senseless fellow*, as it always does in Pope. Thus, *Essay on Criticism*, 271 :

'Concluding all were desperate sots and fools
 Who durst depart from Aristotle's rules.'

And *Im. of Horace*, Bk. II. Ep. ii. :

'D'ye think me, noble general, such a
sot ?
Let him take castles who has ne'er a
groat.'

Milton (*P. L.* i. 472) calls Ahaz Rimmon's 'sottish conqueror,' because the prince was so senseless as to worship the idol he had vanquished.

269. *His golden views.*] A reference to the 'powder of projection,' or philosopher's stone, by which the old alchemists supposed it possible to transmute copper and other metals into gold.

272. *Pride.*] Self-approval, self-esteem.

276. *Tickled.*] Amused, excited.

Scarfs, garters, gold, amuse his riper stage,
 And beads and prayer-books are the toys of age : 280
 Pleased with this bauble still, as that before ;
 Till tired he sleeps, and life's poor play is o'er.
 Meanwhile opinion gilds, with varying rays,
 Those painted clouds that beautify our days ;
 Each want of happiness by hope supplied, 285
 And each vacuity of sense by pride :
 These build as fast as knowledge can destroy ;
 In folly's cup still laughs the bubble, joy ;
 One prospect lost, another still we gain ;
 And not a vanity is given in vain ; 290
 Even mean self-love becomes, by force divine,
 The scale to measure others' wants by thine.
 See, and confess, one comfort still must rise,—
 'Tis this, Though man's a fool, yet God is wise !

279. *Scarfs, garters.*] Badges of military rank and knight-hood.

280. *Beads.*] An Anglo-Saxon word, originally signifying *prayers*, and afterwards applied to the rosary or string of counters used by Roman Catholics for telling the number of prayers said. The original meaning of *bid* is pray; hence our forms of expression, *bidding good-bye, bidding farewell, &c.* The phrase 'bidding his beads'

(Spenser's *F. Q. I. i. 30*) means praying his prayers. A *beadsmān* is a hermit bound to say prayers for his benefactors.

283. *Opinion.*] Fancy.

287. *These build, &c.*] Fancy, hope, self-esteem renew their encouragements as fast as actual knowledge, experience, presents failure.

294. *Wise.*] Pope refers to the wisdom of God's overruling Providence directing all things to the general good.

EPISTLE III.

ARGUMENT.

Of the Nature and State of Man with respect to Society.

- I. The whole universe one system of society, verse 7, etc. Nothing made wholly for itself, nor yet wholly for another, verse 27. The happiness of animals mutual, verse 49. II. Reason or instinct operate alike to the good of each individual, verse 79. III. Reason or instinct operate also to society in all animals, verse 109. How far society carried by instinct, verse 115. How much farther by reason, 131. IV. Of that which is called the state of nature, verse 144. Reason instructed by instinct in the invention of arts, verse 169; and in the forms of society, verse 179. V. Origin of political societies, verse 199. Origin of monarchy, verse 207. VI. Patriarchal government, verse 215. Origin of true religion and government, from the same principle of love, verse 231, etc. Origin of superstition and tyranny, from the same principle of fear, verse 241, etc. The influence of self-love operating to the social and public good, verse 269. Restoration of true religion and government on their first principle, verse 283. Mixed government, verse 288. Various forms of each, and the true end of all, verse 303, etc.

I. HERE then we rest: 'The Universal Cause
Acts to one end, but acts by various laws.'
In all the madness of superfluous health,
The trim of pride, the impudence of wealth,

2, *To one end.*] VIZ., the general good.

3. *The madness, &c.*] The transports of exuberant health, the smart array of pride, &c. *Our moralist here means to*

warn those who have superior advantages against supposing that these are bestowed by partial favour. The Essay throughout repudiates the notion of a particular Providence.

Let this great truth be present night and day :	5
But most be present, if we preach or pray.	
Look round our world, behold the chain of love	
Combining all below and all above,	
See plastic Nature working to this end,	
The single atoms each to other tend,	10
Attract, attracted to, the next in place	
Formed and impelled its neighbour to embrace.	
See matter next with various life endued,	
Press to one centre still, the general good.	
See dying vegetables life sustain,	15
See life dissolving vegetate again :	
All forms that perish other forms supply,	
(By turns we catch the vital breath, and die,)	
Like bubbles on the sea of matter born,	
They rise, they break, and to that sea return.	20
Nothing is foreign ; parts relate to whole ;	
One all-extending, all-preserving soul	
Connects each being, greatest with the least ;	
Made beast in aid of man, and man of beast ;	
All served, all serving : nothing stands alone ;	25
The chain holds on, and where it ends unknown.	
Has God, thou fool ! worked solely for thy good,	
Thy joy, thy pastime, thy attire, thy food ?	
Who for thy table feeds the wanton fawn,	
For him as kindly spreads the flowery lawn :	30
Is it for thee the lark ascends and sings ?	
Joy tunes his voice, joy elevates his wings.	

6. *If we preach, &c.*] While the single atoms each attract imparting religious knowledge other, each attracted to other. or petitioning Divine favour. This is the attraction of cohesion.

7. *Love.*] The Divine love.

9. *Plastic.*] Apt to mould. 29. *Who.*] *He who.*

11. *Attract, attracted to.*] See

Is it for thee the linnet pours his throat?
 Loves of his own and raptures swell the note.
 The bounding steed you pompously bestride 35
 Shares with his lord the pleasure and the pride.
 Is thine alone the seed that strews the plain?
 The birds of heaven shall vindicate their grain.
 Thine the full harvest of the golden year?
 Part pays, and justly, the deserving steer; 40
 The hog, that ploughs not, nor obeys thy call,
 Lives on the labours of this lord of all.

Know, Nature's children all divide her care;
 The fur that warms a monarch warmed a bear.
 While man exclaims, 'See all things for my use!' 45
 'See man for mine!' replies a pampered goose:
 And just as short of reason he must fall,
 Who thinks all made for one, not one for all.

Grant that the powerful still the weak control;
 Be man the wit and tyrant of the whole; 50
 Nature that tyrant checks; he only knows
 And helps another creature's wants and woes.
 Say, will the falcon, stooping from above,
 Smit with her varying plumage, spare the dove?
 Admires the jay the insect's gilded wings? 55
 Or hears the hawk when Philomela sings?

33. *His throat.*] The music of his throat.

34. *Loves of his own, &c.*] Loves and raptures of his own.

38. *Vindicate.*] Claim. The farmer cannot provide for himself without at the same time feeding the fowls of the air, according to Divine purpose and arrangement.

40. *The deserving steer.* The ox that earns his food by working at the plough.

43. *Divide.*] Severally share, participate.

46. *See man for mine.*] This is from Montaigne, ii. 13: 'Why may not a goose say this: "Is it not man that keeps, lodges, and serves me? It is for me that he both sows and grinds."'

50. *Be man, &c.*] Grant that man is the intelligent director and arbitrary ruler of the whole.

51. *He only.*] He alone; no other animal.

Man cares for all : to birds he gives his woods,
 To beasts his pastures, and to fish his floods.
 For some his interest prompts him to provide,
 For more his pleasure, yet for more his pride : 60
 All feed on one vain patron, and enjoy
 The extensive blessings of his luxury.
 That very life his learned hunger craves,
 He saves from famine, from the savage saves ;
 Nay, feasts the animal he dooms his feast, 65
 And, till he ends the being, makes it blest :
 Which sees no more the stroke, or feels the pain,
 Than favoured man by touch ethereal slain.
 The creature had his feast of life before ;
 Thou too must perish, when thy feast is o'er ! 70
 To each unthinking being, Heaven, a friend,
 Gives not the useless knowledge of its end :
 To man imparts it ; but with such a view
 As, while he dreads it, makes him hope it too ;
 The hour concealed, and so remote the fear, 75
 Death still draws nearer, never seeming near.
 Great standing miracle ! that Heaven assigned
 Its only thinking thing this turn of mind.

63. *That very life, &c.*] That very animal which his artificial appetite craves he preserves from hunger and from the beast of prey.

68. *Favoured man, &c.*] The Latin expression *tactus fulmine* or *de caelo tactus* means struck (*lit.* touched) by lightning. Pope found the phrase, 'touch ethereal,' in Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, 549, where, however, it does not mean lightning. Whence Pope derived the notion *that a person killed by lightning*

was a favourite of heaven does not appear. In his epitaph on the two faithful lovers, John Hughes and Sarah Drew, the same notion occurs :

'Hearts so sincere the Almighty saw
 well pleased,
 Sent His own lightning, and the vic-
 tims seized.'

71. *To each unthinking being, &c.*] See Ep. i. 77-86.

73. *View.*] Prospect.

77. *Miracle.*] Wonder that cannot be explained.

II. Whether with reason or with instinct blest,
 Know, all enjoy that power which suits them best : 80
 To bliss alike by that direction tend,
 And find the means proportioned to their end.
 Say, where full instinct is the unerring guide,
 What pope or council can they need beside ?
 Reason, however able, cool at best, 85
 Cares not for service, or but serves when pressed,
 Stays till we call, and then not often near ;
 But honest instinct comes a volunteer,
 Sure never to o'ershoot, but just to hit,
 While still too wide or short is human wit ; 90
 Sure by quick nature happiness to gain,
 Which heavier reason labours at in vain.
 This too serves always, reason never long ;
 One must go right, the other may go wrong.
 See, then, the acting and comparing powers 95
 One in their nature, which are two in ours ;
 And reason raise o'er instinct as you can,
 In this 'tis God directs, in that 'tis man.
 Who taught the nations of the field and flood
 To shun their poison, and to choose their food ? 100
 Prescient, the tides or tempests to withstand,
 Build on the wave, or arch beneath the sand ?
 Who made the spider parallels design,
 Sure as De Moivre, without rule or line ?

86. *Pressed.*] Compelled. An allusion to pressing men for the army. Such pressing has no etymological connection with the old term *prest-money* (earnest money), so called because the enlisted person was pledged to be *ready* at command. *Fr., prêt; Old Fr., prest; Lat., praestio; Ital., presto.*

97. *Raise.*] Magnify, extol.
 99. *Nations.*] Native tribes. The Lat. *gens* is applied to the lower animals as well as to men.
 102. *Build on the wave.*] A reference to the halcyon, which was anciently supposed to build its nest on the sea.
 104. *De Moivre.*] An eminent French mathematician.

Who bid the stork, Columbus-like, explore	105
Heavens not his own, and worlds unknown before ?	
Who calls the council, states the certain day ?	
Who forms the phalanx, and who points the way ?	
III. God in the nature of each being founds	
Its proper bliss, and sets its proper bounds :	110
But, as He framed a whole the whole to bless,	
On mutual wants built mutual happiness :	
So, from the first, eternal order ran,	
And creature linked to creature, man to man.	
Whate'er of life all-quickening ether keeps,	F15
Or breathes through air, or shoots beneath the deeps,	
Or pours profuse on earth, one nature feeds	
The vital flame, and swells the genial seeds.	
Not man alone, but all that roam the wood,	
Or wing the sky, or roll along the flood,	120
Each loves itself, but not itself alone,	
Each sex desires alike, till two are one.	
Nor ends the pleasure with the fierce embrace :	
They love themselves, a third time, in their race.	
Thus beast and bird their common charge attend,	125
The mothers nurse it, and the sires defend ;	
The young dismissed to wander earth or air,	
There stops the instinct, and there ends the care :	
The link dissolves, each seeks a fresh embrace,	
Another love succeeds, another race.	130

105. *Who bid the stork, &c.*] *Bid* is here a past tense. 'The stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed time' (Jer. viii. 7).

115. *Ether.*] The subtle fluid rarer than air, which some suppose to originate beyond our atmosphere, but to pervade all terrestrial life.

Keeps, &c.] Holds in itself, or breathes into the atmosphere, or injects into the waters.

117. *Nature.*] Natural tendency that links creature to creature.

127. *Dismissed.*] Being dismissed.

A longer care man's helpless kind demands;
 That longer care contracts more lasting bands :
 Reflection, reason, still the ties improve,
 At once extend the interest and the love ;
 With choice we fix, with sympathy we burn. 135

Each virtue in each passion takes its turn ;
 And still new needs, new helps, new habits rise,
 That graft benevolence on charities.
 Still as one brood, and as another rose,
 These natural love maintained, habitual those : 140
 The last, scarce ripened into perfect man,
 Saw helpless him from whom their life began,
 Memory and forecast just returns engage,
 That pointed back to youth, this on to age ;
 While pleasure, gratitude, and hope combined, 145
 Still spread the interest, and preserved the kind.

IV. Nor think in Nature's state they blindly trode ;
 The state of Nature was the reign of God :
 Self-love and social at her birth began,
 Union the bond of all things, and of man. 150
 Pride then was not ; nor arts, that pride to aid ;
 Man walked with beast joint-tenant of the shade ;
 The same his table, and the same his bed ;
 No murder clothed him, and no murder fed.

135. *With choice we fix.*] i.e. upon a partner.

136. *Each virtue, &c.*] The virtue that there is in each passion. See Ep. ii. 183.

137. *Habits.*] Habits of kind attention.

138. *That graft, &c.*] That make the virtue of benevolence grow from the endearments of relationship.

142. *Saw helpless him.*] Saw

him helpless.

143. *Memory and forecast, &c.*] Saw memory and forethought claiming just returns.

151-160. *Pride then was not, &c.*] The imaginative description, in these lines, of a state of nature, was suggested by the ancient fable of the golden age, but can hardly be said to have a consistent place in an ethical Essay.

In the same temple, the resounding wood, 155
 All vocal beings hymned their equal God :
 The shrine with gore unstained, with gold undressed,
 Unbribed, unbloody, stood the blameless priest :
 Heaven's attribute was universal care,
 And man's prerogative to rule, but spare. 160
 Ah ! how unlike the man of times to come !
 Of half that live the butcher and the tomb ;
 Who, foe to Nature, hears the general groan,
 Murders their species, and betrays his own.
 But just disease to luxury succeeds, 165
 And every death its own avenger breeds ;
 The fury-passions from that blood began,
 And turned on man a fiercer savage, man.
 See him from nature rising slow to art !
 To copy instinct then was reason's part ; 170
 Thus, then, to man the voice of Nature spake—
 ' Go, from the creatures thy instructions take :
 Learn from the birds what food the thickets yield ;
 Learn from the beasts the physic of the field ;
 Thy arts of building from the bee receive ; 175
 Learn of the mole to plough, the worm to weave ;
 Learn of the little nautilus to sail,
 Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.
 Here, too, all forms of social union find,
 And hence let reason, late, instruct mankind : 180
 Here subterranean works and cities see ;
 There towns aerial on the waving tree.

156. *Their equal God.*] Their common Creator and Preserver.

162. *The butcher and the tomb.*] The slayer and devourer.

168. *Savage.*] Wild animal.

177. *Nautilus.*] So called from the fabled accounts of its

sailing.

179. *All forms of social union.*] As with bees, wasps, ants, beavers, &c.

180. *Late.*] Later, subsequently.

Learn each small people's genius, policies,
 The ants' republic, and the realm of bees:
 How those in common all their wealth bestow, 185
 And anarchy without confusion know;
 And these for ever, though a monarch reign,
 Their separate cells and properties maintain.
 Mark what unvaried laws preserve each state,
 Laws wise as Nature, and as fixed as fate. 190
 In vain thy reason finer webs shall draw,
 Entangle Justice in her net of law,
 And right, too rigid, harden into wrong;
 Still for the strong too weak, the weak too strong.
 Yet go! and thus o'er all the creatures sway, 195
 Thus let the wiser make the rest obey;
 And, for those arts mere instinct could afford,
 Be crowned as monarchs, or as gods adored.'

V. Great Nature spoke; observant man obeyed;
 Cities were built, societies were made: 200
 Here rose one little state; another near
 Grew by like means, and joined through love or fear.
 Did here the trees with ruddier burdens bend,
 And there the streams in purer rills descend?

184. *The realm of bees.*] See Shakespeare's *Henry V.*, i. 2:

'Creatures that, by a law in nature,
 teach
 The act of order to a peopled king-
 dom,' &c.

191. *Draw.*] Draw out, spin.

192. *Her net.*] Reason's net.

193. *And right, too rigid, &c.*]

An allusion to the ancient proverbial saying, 'Summum jus summa injuria,' the height of justice is the height of wrong, referred to by Cicero, *De Officiis*,

i. 10.

194. *Still for the strong, &c.*] Law being ever too weak for the strong, &c.

198. *Be crowned as monarchs, &c.*] An allusion to the instances in ancient times of the honours acquired by those who invented or excelled in arts beneficial to society. See lines 211-214.

199. *Spoke.*] Spoke thus. See line 171.

What war could ravish, commerce could bestow ; 205
 And he returned a friend, who came a foe.
 Converse and love mankind might strongly draw,
 When love was liberty, and nature law.
 Thus states were formed : the name of king unknown,
 Till common interest placed the sway in one. 210
 'Twas virtue only (or in arts or arms,
 Diffusing blessings, or averting harms),
 The same which in a sire the sons obeyed,
 A prince the father of a people made. 214
 VI. Till then, by Nature crowned, each patriarch sat,
 King, priest, and parent of his growing state;
 On him, their second Providence, they hung,
 Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.
 He from the wondering furrow called the food,
 Taught to command the fire, control the flood, 220
 Draw forth the monsters of the abyss profound,
 Or fetch the aerial eagle to the ground ;
 Till, drooping, sickening, dying, they began
 Whom they revered as god to mourn as man :
 Then, looking up from sire to sire, explored 225
 One great first Father, and that first adored ;
 Or plain tradition, that this all begun,
 Conveyed unbroken faith from sire to son ;

208. *When love was liberty, &c.*] So in the poet's *Eloisa to Abelard*, 91 :

'O happy state! when souls each other draw,
 When love is liberty, and nature law.'

214. *A prince, &c.*] 'Twas virtue only, &c., which made the father of a people a prince.

219. *From the wondering furrow, &c.*] The furrow is here supposed to wonder when first called upon to produce corn ;

but the personification is not so happy as in Ps. lxxv. 13, where the 'valleys covered over with corn' are said to shout for joy and to sing.

223. *Drooping, &c.*] The patriarch drooping, &c.

227. *Or plain tradition, &c.*] Or else plain tradition as to the Author of this all.

228. *Unbroken.*] Uninterrupted.

The Worker from the work distinct was known,
 And simple reason never sought but One. 230
 Ere wit oblique had broke that steady light,
 Man, like his Maker, saw that all was right ;
 To virtue, in the paths of pleasure trode,
 And owned a Father when he owned a God.
 Love all the faith and all the allegiance then, 235
 For Nature knew no right divine in men,
 No ill could fear in God ; and understood
 A sovereign being but a sovereign good.
 True faith, true policy, united ran,
 That was but love of God, and this of man. 240
 Who first taught souls enslaved and realms undone
 The enormous faith of many made for one ;
 That proud exception to all Nature's laws,
 T' invert the world, and counterwork its cause ?
 Force first made conquest, and that conquest, law ; 245
 Till superstition taught the tyrant awe,
 Then shared the tyranny, then lent it aid,
 And gods of conquerors, slaves of subjects made.
 She, midst the lightning's blaze and thunder's sound,
 When rocked the mountains, and when groaned the ground,
 She taught the weak to bend, the proud to pray, 251
 To power unseen, and mightier far than they :
 She, from the rending earth and bursting skies,
 Saw gods descend, and fiends infernal rise :
 Here fixed the dreadful, there the blest abodes ; 255
 Fear made her devils, and weak hope her gods ;

230. *One.*] One Worker, or Creator, one God.

232. *Saw that all was right.*] Gen. i. 31, 'And God saw every-thing that he had made, and behold it was very good.'

242. *Enormous.*] Out of all rule or propriety.

249. *She.*] Superstition.

252. *They.*] The lightning and thunder.

Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust,
 Whose attributes were rage, revenge, or lust ;
 Such as the souls of cowards might conceive,
 And, formed like tyrants, tyrants would believe. 260
 Zeal then, not charity, became the guide ;
 And hell was built on spite, and heaven on pride.
 Then sacred seemed th' ethereal vault no more ;
 Altars grew marble then, and reeked with gore :
 Then first the Flamen tasted living food, 265
 Next his grim idol smeared with human blood ;
 With heaven's own thunders shook the world below,
 And played the god an engine on his foe.
 So drives self-love through just, and through unjust,
 To one man's power, ambition, lucre, lust : 270
 The same self-love, in all, becomes the cause
 Of what restrains him, government and laws.
 For what one likes, if others like as well,
 What serves one will, when many wills rebel ?
 How shall he keep what, sleeping or awake, 275
 A weaker may surprise, a stronger take ?
 His safety must his liberty restrain :
 All join to guard what each desires to gain.
 Forced into virtue thus, by self-defence,
 Even kings learned justice and benevolence : 280

260. *Tyrants would believe.*] Would believe to be tyrants.

261. *Zeal.*] Enthusiasm.

265. *The Flamen, &c.*] The priest tasted the flesh of animals slain in sacrifice.

266. *Next his grim idol, &c.*] Next smeared his grim idol, &c. Milton, *P. L.* i. 392, has

'Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
 Of human sacrifice.'

267. *With heaven's own thunders, &c.*] Made men believe that he could command the thunder.

268. *Played the god, &c.*] Made himself representative of the god, an instrument to take vengeance on his foe.

274. *What serves.*] What avails.

Self-love forsook the path it first pursued,
And found the private in the public good.

'Twas then the studious head or generous mind,
Follower of God, or friend of human-kind,
Poet or patriot, rose but to restore 285
The faith and moral Nature gave before ;
Relumed her ancient light, not kindled new ;
If not God's image, yet His shadow drew ;
Taught power's due use to people and to kings ;
Taught nor to slack, nor strain its tender strings, 290
The less, or greater, set so justly true,
That touching one must strike the other too ;
Till jarring interests of themselves create
The according music of a well-mixed state.
Such is the world's great harmony, that springs 295
From order, union, full consent of things ;
Where small and great, where weak and mighty, made
To serve, not suffer, strengthen, not invade,
More powerful each as needful to the rest,
And, in proportion as it blesses, blest, 300
Draw to one point, and to one centre bring
Beast, man, or angel, servant, lord, or king.

For forms of government let fools contest,—
Whate'er is best administered is best :
For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,— 305
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right :
In faith and hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is charity :

288. *If not, &c.*] Described
God—if not as He really is, yet
—by some resemblance of Him.
298. *To serve.*] The small and
weak to serve.

Strengthen] The great and
mighty to strengthen.
301. *Draw.*] Small and
great, weak and mighty, being
made to serve, &c., draw.

All must be false that thwart this one great end;
 And all of God that bless mankind, or mend. 310

Man, like the generous vine, supported lives;
 The strength he gains is from the embrace he gives.
 On their own axis as the planets run,
 Yet make at once their circle round the sun,
 So two consistent motions act the soul, 315
 And one regards itself, and one the whole.

Thus God and Nature linked the general frame,
 And bade self-love and social be the same.

310. *All of God, &c.*] All men must be of God that bless or improve mankind.

311. *Generous.*] This epithet applied to the vine refers to the

strength or spirit of the wine it yields; its 'juice nectareous.' Ep. i. 136.

315. *Act.*] Actuate. See Ep. ii. 59.

EPISTLE IV.

ARGUMENT.

Of the Nature and State of Man with respect to Happiness.

- I. False notions of happiness, philosophical and popular, answered from verse 19 to 26. II. It is the end of all men, and attainable by all, verse 29. God intends happiness to be equal; and, to be so, it must be social, since all particular happiness depends on general, and since He governs by general, not particular laws, verse 35. As it is necessary for order, and the peace and welfare of society, that external goods should be unequal, happiness is not made to consist in these, verse 49. But notwithstanding that inequality, the balance of happiness among mankind is kept even by Providence, by the two passions of hope and fear, verse 67. III. What the happiness of individuals is, as far as is consistent with the constitution of this world; and that the good man has here the advantage, verse 77. The error of imputing to virtue what are only the calamities of nature or of fortune, verse 93. IV. The folly of expecting that God should alter His general laws in favour of particulars, verse 121. V. That we are not judges who are good; but that whoever they are, they must be happiest, verse 131, etc. VI. That external goods are not the proper rewards, but often inconsistent with, or destructive of virtue, verse 167. That even these can make no man happy without virtue: instanced in riches, verse 185; honours, verse 193; nobility, verse 205; greatness, verse 217; fame, verse 237; superior talents, verse 259, etc., with pictures of human infelicity in men possessed of them all, verse 269, etc. VII. That virtue only constitutes a happiness whose object is universal, and whose prospect eternal, verse 309. That the perfection of virtue and happiness consists in a conformity to the order of Providence here, and a resignation to it here and hereafter, verse 327, etc.

O HAPPINESS! our being's end and aim!
Good, pleasure, ease, content! whate'er thy name:

That something still which prompts the eternal sigh,
 For which we bear to live, or dare to die ;
 Which still so near us, yet beyond us lies, 5
 O'erlooked, seen double, by the fool and wise :
 Plant of celestial seed ! if dropt below,
 Say, in what mortal soil thou deign'st to grow :
 Fair opening to some court's propitious shine,
 Or deep with diamonds in the flaming mine ? 10
 Twined with the wreaths Parnassian laurels yield,
 Or reaped in iron harvests of the field ?
 Where grows ? where grows it not ! If vain our toil,
 We ought to blame the culture, not the soil ;
 Fixed to no spot is happiness sincere, 15
 'Tis no where to be found, or every where :
 'Tis never to be bought, but always free ;
 And, fled from monarchs, St. John ! dwells with thee.

I. Ask of the learned the way ? the learned are blind ;
 This bids to serve, and that to shun mankind ; 20
 Some place the bliss in action, some in ease,
 Those call it pleasure, and contentment these ;
 Some, sunk to beasts, find pleasure end in pain ;
 Some, swelled to gods, confess e'en virtue vain ;
 Or, indolent, to each extreme they fall, 25
 To trust in everything, or doubt of all.

3. *Still which.*] Which still, or ever. See Ep. i. 95, 96.

6. *O'erlooked, &c.*] Overlooked by the fool, seeming to sages doubtful, as to what it consists in.

9-12. *Fair opening, &c.*] Does it grow in the favouring sunshine of the court, or deep in the mine amidst the lustre of diamonds, or twined with the laurels that adorn the poet's brow, or is it reaped in battle-fields ?

18. *Fled from monarchs, &c.*]

At the close of 1734, Bolingbroke quitted public business with the resolution of spending the remainder of his life in studious retirement.

22. *Those call it pleasure, &c.*] Those who place the bliss in action—the Epicureans ; those who place it in ease—the Stoics. But Pope does not rightly characterise these sects.

26. *Doubt of all.*] Alluding to the Pyrrhonists or Sceptics.

Who thus define it, say they more or less
Than this, that happiness is happiness ?

II. Take Nature's path, and mad Opinion's leave ;
All states can reach it, and all heads conceive ; 30
Obvious her goods, in no extreme they dwell ;
There needs but thinking right, and meaning well ;
And mourn our various portions as we please,
Equal is common sense, and common ease.

Remember, man, 'the Universal Cause 35
Acts not by partial, but by general laws,'
And makes what happiness we justly call
Subsist, not in the good of one, but all.
There's not a blessing individuals find,
But some way leans and hearkens to the kind ; 40
No bandit fierce, no tyrant mad with pride,
No caverned hermit rests self-satisfied :
Who most to shun or hate mankind pretend,
Seek an admirer, or would fix a friend.
Abstract what others feel, what others think, 45
All pleasures sicken, and all glories sink :
Each has his share ; and who would more obtain,
Shall find the pleasure pays not half the pain.

Order is Heaven's first law ; and, this confessed,
Some are, and must be, greater than the rest, 50
More rich, more wise ; but who infers from hence
That such are happier, shocks all common sense.
Heaven to mankind impartial we confess,
If all are equal in their happiness :
But mutual wants this happiness increase ; 55
All Nature's difference keeps all Nature's peace.

40. *The kind.*] The species. by others.
45. *Abstract, &c.*] Take away affection for and esteem of us 49. *This confessed.*] This being admitted.

Condition, circumstance is not the thing ;
 Bliss is the same in subject or in king,
 In who obtain defence, or who defend,
 In him who is, or him who finds a friend : 60
 Heaven breathes through every member of the whole
 One common blessing, as one common soul.
 But Fortune's gifts if each alike possessed,
 And each were equal, must not all contest ?
 If then to *all* men happiness was meant, 65
 God in externals could not place content.

Fortune her gifts may variously dispose,
 And these be happy called, unhappy those :
 But Heaven's just balance equal will appear,
 While those are placed in hope, and these in fear : 70
 Not present good or ill the joy or curse,
 But future views of better, or of worse.

O sons of earth ! attempt ye still to rise,
 By mountains piled on mountains, to the skies ?
 Heaven still with laughter the vain toil surveys, 75
 And buries madmen in the heaps they raise.

III. Know, all the good that individuals find,
 Or God and Nature meant to mere mankind,
 Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of sense,
 Lie in three words—health, peace, and competence. 80
 But health consists with temperance alone ;
 And peace ! O virtue ; peace is all thy own.
 The good or bad the gifts of fortune gain ;
 But these less taste them, as they worse obtain.

57. *Not the thing.*] A respectable colloquial expression, but rather undignified here.

69. *Equal will.*] Will equally.

70. *Those . . . these.*] The poorer . . . the wealthier.

73. *O sons of earth, &c.*] An allusion to the gigantic Titans,

sons of Terra, who in their warfare against Jove heaped mountain upon mountain, but were overwhelmed by their own contrivances.

84. *As they worse obtain.*] As they obtain them in a worse way.

Say, in pursuit of profit or delight, 85
 Who risk the most, that take wrong means or right?
 Of vice or virtue, whether blest or curst,
 Which meets contempt, or which compassion first?
 Count all the advantage prosperous vice attains,
 'Tis but what virtue flies from and disdains : 90
 And grant the bad what happiness they would,
 One they must want, which is to pass for good.
 Oh! blind to truth, and God's whole scheme below,
 Who fancy bliss to vice, to virtue woe!
 Who sees and follows that great scheme the best, 95
 Best knows the blessing, and will most be blest.
 But fools the good alone unhappy call,
 For ills or accidents that chance to all.
 See Falkland dies the virtuous and the just!
 See godlike Turenne prostrate on the dust! 100
 See Sidney bleeds amid the martial strife!
 Was this their virtue, or contempt of life?
 Say, was it virtue, more though Heaven ne'er gave,
 Lamented Digby! sunk thee to the grave?
 Tell me, if virtue made the son expire, 105
 Why, full of days and honour, lives the sire?

87. *Blest or curst.*] Well off or ill off as to worldly circumstances.

97. *But fools, &c.*] But only fools call the good unhappy.

99. *Falkland.*] Lord Falkland, a statesman of the time of Charles I., eminent for moral worth. He was killed at the battle of Newbury.

100. *Turenne.*] Marshal Turenne, while marching against the Imperialists, was killed at *Salzbach, in Baden.* His virtue, though eminent, did not quite

warrant the epithet *godlike*.

101. *Sidney.*] The great and good Sir Philip Sidney fell at the battle of Zutphen in the Netherlands.

104. *Digby.*] The Honourable Robert Digby, one of Pope's friends, on whose death the poet wrote an epitaph. He died at the age of forty.

106. *Why full of days, &c.*] William, Lord Digby, father of the above, was ninety-two years old at his death in 1752.

Why drew Marseilles' good bishop purer breath,
 When Nature sickened, and each gale was death?
 Or why so long (in life if long can be)
 Lent Heaven a parent to the poor and me? 110
 What makes all physical or moral ill?
 There deviates Nature, and here wanders will.
 God sends not ill, if rightly understood,
 Or partial ill is universal good;
 Or change admits, or Nature lets it fall, 115
 Short, and but rare, till man improved it all.
 We just as wisely might of Heaven complain
 That righteous Abel was destroyed by Cain,
 As that the virtuous son is ill at ease
 When his lewd father gave the dire disease. 120
 IV. Think we, like some weak prince, the Eternal Cause
 Prone for His favourites to reverse His laws?
 Shall burning Ætna, if a sage requires,
 Forget to thunder, and recall her fires?
 On air or sea new motions be impressed, 125
 O blameless Bethel, to relieve thy breast?

107. *Marseilles' good bishop.*] M. de Belsunce, distinguished for his generous conduct during the plague at Marseilles in 1721.

110. *A parent.*] Pope's affection for his mother was fervent. She died in 1733, at the age of ninety-three.

112. *There deviates, &c.*] Nature's deviation makes natural evil, the erring of man's will makes moral evil.

115. *Or change admits.*] Either the unavoidable changefulness of earthly things admits it, gives it entrance.

116. *Improved.*] Here used ironically for *extended and aggravated.*

121. *Think we, &c.*] Do we imagine that the Eternal Cause, like some weak-minded prince, is apt to reverse, &c.

123. *Shall burning Ætna, &c.*] Empedocles was said to have thrown himself into the fires of Ætna; but Ætna is here inadvertently written instead of Vesuvius, the fumes of which caused the death of the naturalist Pliny, at the time of the destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii.

126. *Bethel.*] Hugh Bethel, a friend of Pope's, afflicted with asthma. He was a country gentleman of Yorkshire.

When the loose mountain trembles from on high,
 Shall gravitation cease if you go by ?
 Or some old temple, nodding to its fall,
 For Chartres' head reserve the hanging wall ? 130

V. But still this world, so fitted for the knave,
 Contents us not. A better shall we have ?—
 A kingdom of the just then let it be :
 But first consider how those just agree.
 The good must merit God's peculiar care ; 135
 But who, but God, can tell us who they are ?
 One thinks on Calvin Heaven's own spirit fell ;
 Another deems him instrument of hell ;
 If Calvin feel Heaven's blessing or its rod,
 This cries there is, and that, there is no God. 140
 What shocks one part will edify the rest,
 Nor with one system can they all be blest.
 The very best will variously incline,
 And what rewards your virtue, punish mine.
 Whatever is, is right. This world, 'tis true, 145
 Was made for Cæsar, but for Titus too :

And which more blest ? who chained his country ? say,—
 Or he whose virtue sighed to lose a day ?

VI. ' But sometimes virtue starves, while vice is fed.'
 What then ? Is the reward of virtue bread ? 150
 That vice may merit, 'tis the price of toil ;
 The knave deserves it when he tills the soil,

128. *You.*] i.e., Bolingbroke.

130. *Chartres.*] Colonel Chartres, a noted profligate in the time of Pope, who frequently refers to him in his poetry.

137. *Calvin.*] The reformer as much admired by Presbyterians as abhorred by Roman Catholics.

144. *Punish.*] Will punish.

146. *Was made for Cæsar.*]

An allusion to Addison's tragedy of *Cato*, v. 1, 'This world was made for Cæsar.'

147. *Who chained.*] He who.

148. *He whose virtue, &c.*] The Roman emperor Titus, re-collecting once at supper that he had not bestowed a favour on any one during the day, exclaimed, 'My friends, I have lost a day.'

The knave deserves it when he tempts the main,
 Where folly fights for kings, or dives for gain.
 The good man may be weak, be indolent; 155
 Nor is his claim to plenty, but content.
 But grant him riches, your demand is o'er.
 'No: shall the good want health, the good want power?'
 Add health, and power, and every earthly thing:
 'Why bounded power? why private? why no king? 160
 Nay, why external for internal given?
 Why is not man a god, and earth a heaven?'
 Who ask and reason thus, will scarce conceive
 God gives enough, while He has more to give:
 Immense the power, immense were the demand; 165
 Say, at what part of Nature will they stand?
 What nothing earthly gives or can destroy,
 The soul's calm sunshine, and the heartfelt joy,
 Is virtue's prize. A better would you fix?
 Then give humility a coach and six, 170
 Justice a conqueror's sword, or truth a gown,
 Or public spirit its great cure, a crown.
 Weak, foolish man! will heaven reward us there
 With the same trash mad mortals wish for here?
 The boy and man an individual makes, 175
 Yet sighest thou now for apples and for cakes?
 Go, like the Indian, in another life
 Expect thy dog, thy bottle, and thy wife,
 As well as dream such trifles are assigned,
 As toys and empires, for a godlike mind: 180

165. *Immense the power, &c.*] The power to bestow being immense, the demand would be immense.

171. *A gown.*] A lawyer's gown.

172. *Its great cure.*] This is supposed to refer to George II., who, when he became king, abandoned the Opposition (Pope's friends), whom he had previously favoured.

Rewards, that either would to virtue bring
 No joy, or be destructive of the thing :
 How oft by these at sixty are undone
 The virtues of a saint at twenty-one !

To whom can riches give repute or trust, 185
 Content or pleasure, but the good and just ?
 Judges and senates have been bought for gold,
 Esteem and love were never to be sold.

O fool ! to think God hates the worthy mind,
 The lover and the love of human kind, 190
 Whose life is healthful, and whose conscience clear,
 Because he wants a thousand pounds a year.

Honour and shame from no condition rise ;
 Act well your part : there all the honour lies.
 Fortune in men has some small difference made : 195

One flaunts in rags, one flutters in brocade ;
 The cobbler aproned, and the parson gowned,
 The friar hooded, and the monarch crowned.
 ' What differ more,' you cry, ' than crown and cowl ?'

I'll tell you, friend,—a wise man and a fool. 200

You'll find, if once the monarch acts the monk,
 Or, cobbler-like, the parson will be drunk,
 Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow ;
 The rest is all but leather or prunella.

Stuck o'er with titles, and hung round with strings,— 205
 That thou may'st be by kings, or whores of kings ;

189. *To think God hates, &c.*] To think the denial of a thousand pounds a year an evidence that God hates a man of worthy mind, a man who loves and is beloved by human kind.

191. *Healthful.*] Conducted in consistency with the rules of health.

201. *The monarch acts the monk.*] An allusion to Philip V. of Spain retiring to a monastery.

204. *Prunella.*] The stuff of which clergymen's gowns were made.

206. *That.*] That is a thing which.

Boast the pure blood of an illustrious race,
 In quiet flow from Lucrece to Lucrece :
 But by your fathers' worth if yours you rate,
 Count me those only who were good and great. 210
 Go ! if your ancient but ignoble blood
 Has crept through scoundrels ever since the flood,
 Go ! and pretend your family is young,
 Nor own your fathers have been fools so long.
 What can ennoble sots, or slaves, or cowards ? 215
 Alas ! not all the blood of all the Howards.

Look next on greatness : say where greatness lies.
 'Where but among the heroes and the wise !'
 Heroes are much the same, the point's agreed,
 From Macedonia's madman to the Swede ; 220
 The whole strange purpose of their lives to find,
 Or make, an enemy of all mankind !
 Not one looks backward, onward still he goes,
 Yet ne'er looks forward farther than his nose.
 No less alike the politic and wise ; 225
 All sly slow things, with circumspective eyes :
 Men in their loose unguarded hours they take,
 Not that themselves are wise, but others weak.
 But grant that those can conquer, these can cheat,
 'Tis phrase absurd to call a villain great : 230

208. *From Lucrece, &c.*] From a Lucretia to a Lucretia, from one pure and virtuous as the wife of Collatinus to others all equally so. Pope here borrowed from Boileau, *Sat.* v. 85 :
 ' Si leur sang tout pur, ainsi que leur noblesse,
 Est passé jusqu'à vous de Lucrèce en Lucrèce.'

216. *The Howards.*] The Dukes of Norfolk.

220. *Macedonia's madman.*] Alexander the Great; but he was no madman.

The Swede.] Charles XII., more deserving than Alexander to be called madman.

225. *No less alike.*] Referring to the phrase 'much the same,' in line 219.

229. *Those . . . these.*] The heroes . . . the politic and wise.

Who wickedly is wise, or madly brave,
 Is but the more a fool, the more a knave.
 Who noble ends by noble means obtains,
 Or, failing, smiles in exile or in chains,
 Like good Aurelius let him reign, or bleed 235
 Like Socrates: that man is great indeed!
 What's fame? A fancied life in others' breath,
 A thing beyond us, even before our death.
 Just what you hear, you have, and what's unknown
 The same, my lord, if Tully's, or your own. 240
 All that we feel of it begins and ends
 In the small circle of our foes or friends;
 To all beside as much an empty shade
 A Eugene living, as a Cæsar dead;
 Alike, or when or where they shone or shine, 245
 Or on the Rubicon, or on the Rhine.
 A wit's a feather, and a chief a rod;
 An honest man's the noblest work of God.

235. *Like good Aurelius.*] The Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who wrote a book of 'Reflections.'

Or bleed like Socrates.] *Bleed* is here rather inappropriately used for *be put to death*. Socrates was condemned to drink poison.

239. *What's unknown, &c.*] The fame that is unknown to you is all the same if it were either Cicero's or yours.

243. *As much, &c.*] A Eugene living is as much an empty shade as a Cæsar dead. Prince Eugene of Savoy gained great renown in the War of the Spanish Succession. He was *living* when this Essay was published.

246. *The Rubicon.*] The little

river separating Cisalpine Gaul from Italy, by crossing which Cæsar passed the boundary of his province, and thus declared war against Pompey and the Roman Senate.

247. *A wit's a feather, &c.*] In this line a *wit* means one of 'the politic and wise,' and a *chief* one of the 'heroes,' both referred to in the preceding paragraph, and the intended meaning of this obscure line appears to me to be, a wit is fickle or inconstant as a feather 'tossed by varying winds' (Ep. ii. 157); a chief is an arbitrary scourge. Pope must have designed the *feather* and the *rod* to be antithetic to the *homesty* commended in the next line.

Fame but from death a villain's name can save,
 As justice tears his body from the grave, 250
 When what to oblivion better were resigned,
 Is hung on high, to poison half mankind.
 All fame is foreign, but of true desert,
 Plays round the head, but comes not to the heart :
 One self-approving hour whole years outweighs 255
 Of stupid starrers and of loud huzzas ;
 And more true joy Marcellus exiled feels,
 Than Cæsar with a senate at his heels.
 In parts superior what advantage lies ?
 Tell, for you can, what is it to be wise ? 260
 'Tis but to know how little can be known ;
 To see all others' faults, and feel our own ;
 Condemned in business or in arts to drudge,
 Without a second, or without a judge :
 Truths would you teach, or save a sinking land ! 265
 All fear, none aid you, and few understand.
 Painful pre-eminence ! yourself to view
 Above life's weakness, and its comforts too.
 Bring, then, these blessings to a strict account.
 Make fair deductions : see to what they 'mount : 270

250. *Tears his body, &c.*] Forcibly, or in violation of decency, prevents the burial of his body.

252. *Is hung on high.*] Alluding to the bodies of malefactors hung in chains in the open air, and left there to rot. This barbarous practice was discontinued about the close of the 18th century.

253. *But of true.*] But that of true.

257. *Marcellus.*] One of the most honourable of the party of

Pompey. After the defeat of Pompey at the battle of Pharsalia, he retired to Mitylene, and devoted his time to literature and philosophy. By the name Marcellus Pope meant the Duke of Ormond, then an exile with Bolingbroke in France, in the service of the Pretender.

259. *Parts.*] Talents. The same in line 281.

264. *Without a second, &c.*] Without a supporter or any one capable of judging what you are.

How much of other each is sure to cost ;
 How each for other oft is wholly lost ;
 How inconsistent greater goods with these ;
 How sometimes life is risked, and always ease.
 Think, and, if still the things thy envy call, 275
 Say, would'st thou be the man to whom they fall ?
 To sigh for ribbons if thou art so silly,
 Mark how they grace Lord Umbra, or Sir Billy.
 Is yellow dirt the passion of thy life ?
 Look but on Gripus, or on Gripus' wife. 280
 If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shined,
 The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind :
 Or, ravished with the whistling of a name,
 See Cromwell damned to everlasting fame !
 If all, united, thy ambition call, 285
 From ancient story learn to scorn them all.
 There, in the rich, the honoured, famed, and great,
 See the false scale of happiness complete !
 In hearts of kings, or arms of queens who lay,
 How happy ! those to ruin, these betray ! 290

275. *Thy envy call.*] Call forth or excite thy envy. Similarly in line 285, 'thy ambition call.'

278. *Lord Umbra, &c.*] They are often the ornaments of witless or worthless noblemen.

280. *Gripus, &c.*] So the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough are here called, on account of the avarice by which their private habits were degraded.

282. *Meanest.*] Pope had a strong tendency to exaggeration, and the epithet as here applied is an instance, although Lord Bacon was convicted of the crime of receiving bribes in his capacity of Lord Chancellor of

England, for which he was fined and degraded.

283. *Ravished.*] If you are ravished.

286. *From ancient story.*] This is a false reference, from behind which Pope proceeds to discharge shafts of obloquy against the Duke of Marlborough. Both Bolingbroke and Pope were bitter enemies of the Duke.

289, 290. *In hearts of kings, &c.*] There is gross obscurity, probably intentional, in the construction of these two lines. But *queens* may be a term of licence referring to Marlborough's youthful intrigue with the Duchess of Cleveland, whom it was alleged that he afterwards

Mark by what wretched steps their glory grows,
 From dirt and sea-weed as proud Venice rose ;
 In each how guilt and greatness equal ran,
 And all that raised the hero sunk the man :
 Now Europe's laurels on their brows behold, 295
 But stained with blood, or ill-exchanged for gold :
 Then see them broke with toils or sunk in ease,
 Or infamous for plundered provinces.
 O wealth ill-fated ! which no act of fame
 E'er taught to shine, or sanctified from shame ! 300
 What greater bliss attends their close of life ?
 Some greedy minion, or imperious wife
 The trophied arches, storied halls invade,
 And haunt their slumbers in the pompous shade.
 Alas ! not dazzled with their noontide ray, 305
 Compute the morn and evening to the day ;
 The whole amount of that enormous fame,
 A tale that blends their glory with their shame !
 Know, then, this truth, enough for men to know,
 ' Virtue alone is happiness below.' 310
 The only point where human bliss stands still,
 And tastes the good without the fall to ill ;
 Where only merit constant pay receives,
 Is blest in what it takes and what it gives :

betrayed ; and *kings* must refer to James II. and William III., of each of whom he was alternately a partisan and an adversary. Then the lines may be interpreted thus : They who lay in the hearts of kings or in the arms of queens—how happy, forsooth ! to ruin the kings, to betray the queens !

292. *From dirt and sea-weed, &c.* As proud Venice rose from dirt, &c. Venice did not deserve the disparagement, nor did Marlborough.

305. *Not dazzled, &c.* Take into account the morning and evening of their day of life, not being dazzled with their meridian splendour.

313. *Constant pay.* An un-failing recompense.

314. *Is blest, &c.* So Portia, in the *Merchant of Venice*, calls mercy *twice blest*, because 'It blesseth him who gives and him who takes.' Christianity teaches that it is even 'more blessed to give than to receive' (*Acts xx. 35*).

The joy unequalled, if its end it gain, 315
 And if it lose, attended with no pain :
 Without satiety, though e'er so blest,
 And but more relished, as the more distressed :
 The broadest mirth unfeeling Folly wears,
 Less pleasing far than Virtue's very tears : 320
 Good, from each object, from each place acquired,
 For ever exercised, yet never tired ;
 Never elated, while one man's oppressed ;
 Never dejected, while another's blest ;
 And where no wants, no wishes can remain, 325
 Since but to wish more virtue is to gain.

See the sole bliss Heaven could on all bestow !
 Which who but feels can taste, but thinks can know ;
 Yet, poor with fortune, and with learning blind,
 The bad must miss, the good, untaught will find ; 330
 Slave to no sect, who takes no private road,
 But looks through nature up to nature's God ;
 Pursues that chain which links the immense design,
 Joins heaven and earth, and mortal and divine ;
 Sees that no being any bliss can know, 335
 But touches some above and some below ;
 Learns from this union of the rising whole,
 The first, last purpose of the human soul ;
 And knows where faith, law, morals, all began,
 All end,—in love of God and love of man. 340

320. *Less pleasing.*] Being less pleasing.

326. *But to wish, &c.*] Even the wish to be more virtuous is itself an addition to virtue.

327. *Could on all bestow.*] Could make general for the human race ; could make attainable by every one.

329. *Yet, poor with fortune, &c.*] *Yet a bliss which the bad,*

poor however rich, blind however learned, must miss, but which the good man, however unlearned, will find.

331. *Slave, &c.*] The good man, being a slave to no sect, one who takes no private road to promote his own individual happiness. Compare Ep. iii. 281 and 317.

For him alone, hope leads from goal to goal,
 And opens still, and opens on his soul;
 Till lengthened on to faith, and unconfined,
 It pours the bliss that fills up all the mind.
 He sees why Nature plants in man alone, 345
 Hope of known bliss, and faith in bliss unknown :
 (Nature, whose dictates to no other kind
 Are given in vain, but what they seek they find ;)
 Wise is her present : she connects in this
 His greatest virtue with his greatest bliss ; 350
 At once his own bright prospect to be blest,
 And strongest motive to assist the rest.
 Self-love, thus pushed to social, to divine,
 Gives thee to make thy neighbour's blessing thine.
 Is this too little for the boundless heart ? 355
 Extend it, let thy enemies have part :
 Grasp the whole worlds of reason, life, and sense,
 In one close system of benevolence :
 Happier as kinder, in whate'er degree,
 And height of bliss but height of charity. 360
 God loves from whole to parts : but human soul
 Must rise from individual to the whole.
 Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
 As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake ;
 The centre moved, a circle straight succeeds, 365
 Another still, and still another spreads ;
 Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace ;
 His country next ; and next all human race ;
 Wide and more wide, the o'erflowings of the mind
 Take every creature in, of every kind ; 370

364. *As the small pebble, &c.*] 'As on the smooth expanse of
 See a similar description in crystal lakes,' &c.
Pope's Temple of Fame, 436,

Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty blessed,
And Heaven beholds its image in his breast.

Come, then, my friend ! my genius ! come along,
O master of the poet and the song !

And, while the muse now stoops or now ascends, 375

To man's low passions or their glorious ends,

Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,

To fall with dignity, with temper rise ;

Formed by thy converse, happily to steer

From grave to gay, from lively to severe : 380

Correct with spirit, eloquent with ease,

Intent to reason, or polite to please.

Oh ! while along the stream of time thy name

Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame,

Say, shall my little bark attendant sail, 385

Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale ?

When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust repose,

Whose sons shall blush their fathers were thy foes,

Shall then this verse to future age pretend

Thou wert my guide, philosopher and friend ? 390

That, urged by thee, I turned the tuneful art

From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart ;

For Wit's false mirror held up Nature's light ;

Showed erring pride, whatever is, is right ;

That reason, passion, answer one great aim ; 395

That true self-love and social are the same ;

That virtue only makes our bliss below ;

And all our knowledge is, ourselves to know.

373. *Genius.*] Presiding Referring to Bolingbroke's style
spirit. Bolingbroke is meant. of writing as being correct yet
381. *Correct with spirit.*] animated.

QUESTIONS
ON
POPE'S 'ESSAY ON MAN.'
WITH ANSWERS.

(Sandhurst Examination, July 1879.)

QUESTIONS.

1. What does Pope describe, in his Preface, as his general design in writing this poem? Say what portions of that design you consider to have been most successfully carried out.

2. Give, in substance, or in Pope's own language, the reasoning by which he enforces these propositions:—

- (a) Whatever is, is right.
- (b) Happiness our being's end and aim.
- (c) Two principles in human nature reign,
Self-love to urge, and Reason to restrain.
- (d) The proper study of mankind is man.

3. Quote six couplets which you regard as good examples of concentrated thought, or of Pope's artistic skill in versification.

ANSWERS.

1. Pope describes his general design as being to write in rhyming verse such thoughts on human life and manners as might form a temperate and concise system of Ethics; judging that moral instruction would be thus more concisely, gracefully, and forcibly conveyed, and more durably impressed, than it could be in prose.

The portions of his design most successfully carried out are the conciseness and impressive force with which the thoughts are stated, and the grace of the versification.

2 (a). Of all possible systems of Creation, 'Wisdom infinite must form the best;' and whatever exists or occurs in our world must have been included in the great plan of the Universe, and must be right as relative to the whole. 'All partial evil,' both natural and moral, must be 'universal good;' so that neither such things as 'plagues and earthquakes,' nor such characters as 'a Borgia or a Catiline,' 'break Heaven's design.'

Such is the kind of reasoning by which Pope enforces the proposition—'Whatever is, is right.'

2 (b). Pope, in asserting 'our being's end and aim' to be 'happiness,' means that God must have ordained happiness for us, and that we naturally aim at happiness. He argues that the happiness ordained for man cannot consist in external goods, for the order and well-being of society do not permit these to be equally distributed, but that in virtue, as being attainable by all, must consist 'the sole bliss Heaven could on all bestow;' virtue alone having the true enjoyment of this life, and the hope of a better life to come.

2 (c). Pope enforces this proposition briefly in the following lines of the second epistle:—

'Self-love, the spring of motion, acts the soul;
Reason's comparing balance rules the whole.
Man, but for that, no action could attend,
And, but for this, were active to no end.'

2 (d). This proposition is stated at the beginning of the second Epistle as a conclusion arising out of considerations discussed in the first. It is meant to reprove the folly of man's imagining that, because he is without some powers that belong to angels and others that belong to inferior animals, he has a wrong place in Creation.

'In the scale of reasoning life, 'tis plain,
There must be somewhere such a rank as Man;'

and consequently,

'The bliss of man (could pride that blessing find)
Is—not to act or think beyond mankind;
No powers of body or of soul to share,
But what his nature and his state can bear.'

3. (i) 'The spider's touch, how exquisitely fine!
Feels at each thread, and lives along the line.'
- (ii) 'What's fame? a fancied life in other's breath,
A thing beyond us even before our death.'
- (iii) 'Man like the generous vine supported lives;
The strength he gains is from the embrace he gives.'
- (iv) 'Snatch from His hand the balance and the rod,
Rejudge His justice, be the god of God.'
- (v) 'Like bubbles on the sea of matter born,
They rise, they break, and to that sea return.'
- (vi) 'Hope springs eternal in the human breast;
Man never is, but always to be blest.'

APPROVED SCHOOL-BOOKS

By the Rev. JOHN HUNTER, M.A.

One of the National Society's Examiners of Middle-Class Schools.

- SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS, with Explanatory and Illustrative Notes, Critical Remarks, and other Aids to a thorough understanding of each Play. Edited for the use of Schools and Pupils preparing for Examination Crown 8vo. price ONE SHILLING each Play.
- BOOKS I. to V. of MILTON'S *PARADISE LOST*; with a Prose Translation or Paraphrase, the Parsing of the more Difficult Words, Specimens of Analysis, and numerous Illustrative Notes for the use of Candidates. Books I. and II. 1s. 6d. each; Books III. to V. 1s. each.
- EXAMINATION-QUESTIONS for Middle-Class Candidates, on the FIRST TWO BOOKS of MILTON'S *PARADISE LOST*, price 1s. and on SHAKESPEARE'S *MERCHANT of VENICE*, price 6d.
- MILTON'S *SAMSON AGONISTES* and *LYCIDAS*; with Notes explaining peculiarities of Grammar, Diction, &c. For the use of Students and Candidates for Examination 12mo. 1s. 6d.
- MILTON'S *COMUS*, *L'ALLEGRO*, and *IL PENSEROSO*, with numerous Notes, Critical, Illustrative, and Explanatory: adapted for use in Training Colleges and Schools 12mo. 1s. 6d.
- SPENSER'S FAIRY QUEEN; the First Six Cantos of Book I. Unabridged and in the Old Spelling. With Explanatory and Illustrative Notes, including frequent Directions for Grammatical Analysis, &c. 12mo. 2s.
- JOHNSON'S *RASSELAS*, with Introductory Remarks, Explanatory and Grammatical Annotations, Specimens of Interrogative Lessons. Answers to Examination-Questions, &c. New Edition, revised 12mo. 2s. 6d.
- The GRADUATED ENGLISH GRAMMAR, adapted to the Requirements of the Fifth Government Standard..... 12mo. [*Nearly ready.*]
- HUNTER'S TEXT-BOOK of GRAMMAR; English Etymology and Syntax, Parsing and Punctuation, Vocabulary and English Grammatical Bibliography 12mo. 2s. 6d.
- EXERCISES in ENGLISH PARSING 12mo. 6d.
- PARAPHRASING and ANALYSIS of SENTENCES, simplified for the use of Schools, forming a Manual of Instruction and Exercise for the use of Students, Teachers, &c. 12mo. 1s. 3d.—KEY, 1s. 3d.
- SCHOOL MANUAL of LETTER-WRITING: Containing numerous Models of Letters on Commercial and other Subjects; with Exercises in Epistolary Composition, Rules of Punctuation, Explanations of Abbreviated Titles, Commercial Terms, &c. Revised Edition 12mo. 1s. 6d.
- MODERN STUDIES in INDEXING and PRÉCIS of CORRESPONDENCE, for the use of Civil Service Candidates..... 12mo. 3s. 6d.
- INTRODUCTION to the WRITING of PRÉCIS or DIGESTS, as applicable to Narratives of Facts or Historical Events, Correspondence, Evidence, Official Documents, and General Composition; with numerous Examples and Exercises. Revised Edition 12mo. 2s.—KEY, 1s.
- The ESSAYS of LORD BACON; with Critical and Illustrative Notes; and an Example with Answers of an University Middle-Class Examination-Paper on the Essays..... Crown 8vo. price 2s. 6d.

London, LONGMANS & CO.

APPROVED SCHOOL-BOOKS

By the Rev. JOHN HUNTER, M.A.

- NEW SHILLING ARITHMETIC**; a Treatise for Beginners, designed to promote intelligence and Expertness in the Application of the Best Modern Methods of Calculation.....18mo. price 1s.—KEY, price 2s.
- SOLUTIONS of QUESTIONS in ARITHMETIC** and **BOOKKEEPING** used in the Civil Service Examinations, and published in the Appendix to the Eighth Report of the Commissioners: with a SUPPLEMENT containing Examples in Account-States, &c.12mo. 1s. 6d.
- MODERN ARITHMETIC**; a Treatise adapted for School Work and for Private Study, containing numerous improvements in aid of the Preparation of Candidates for Public Examinations. 12mo. 3s. 6d.—KEY, price 5s.
- STANDARD ARITHMETIC**, a Graduated Scheme of Arithmetical Examples adapted to the New Code. PART I. Standards I. II. & III. PART II. Standards IV. & V.; PART III. Standard VI. 18mo. price 2s. each part. KEY, price 6d.
- STUDIES in DOUBLE-ENTRY BOOKKEEPING**, for the use of Candidates, including Private Journal and Ledger; serving to explain the chief difficulties occurring in Modern Examination Papers. Crown 8vo. 2s. cloth.
- SELF-INSTRUCTION in BOOKKEEPING**; a Treatise Explaining Simply, and by numerous Examples, the Principles and Practice of the Single and Double Entry18mo. price 2s.
- EXAMINATION-QUESTIONS in BOOKKEEPING** by **DOUBLE ENTRY**, preceded by full Directions for the True Stating of Dr. and Cr.—with the ANSWERS.....12mo. 2s. 6d.
- HUNTER'S EXAMINATION-QUESTIONS and DIRECTIONS**, as above, separated from the ANSWERS12mo. 1s.
- RULED PAPER** for the various Forms of Account-Books required in HUNTER'S Examination-Questions in Bookkeeping, 5 sorts, price 1s. 6d. per quire.
- PROGRESSIVE EXERCISES in BOOKKEEPING** by **DOUBLE ENTRY**, including Account-States, Partnership Accounts, Private Journal and Ledger, &c.....12mo. 1s. 6d.—KEY, price 2s. 6d.
- An **EASY INTRODUCTION** to the **HIGHER TREATISES** on the **CONIC SECTIONS**12mo. 3s. 6d.—KEY, 2s.
- The **STUDENT'S ALGEBRA**. By the Right Rev. J. W. COLenso, D.D. Edited by the Rev. JOHN HUNTER. Crown 8vo. 6s.—KEY, 6s.
- EXAMINATION-QUESTIONS on COLENZO'S ELEMENTS of ALGEBRA**. PART I.....12mo. 2s. 6d.
- COLENZO and HUNTER'S INTRODUCTORY ALGEBRA**; with a large Appendix of New Examples.....18mo. price 2s. 6d.—KEY, 2s. 6d.
- A **STANDARD ALGEBRA**, in accordance with the Regulations of the New Revised Code for STANDARDS IV. V. and VI. explaining in simple language the Rudiments of the Science to Simple Equations.... 18mo. 1s.—KEY, 1s.
- ELEMENTS of PLANE TRIGONOMETRY**, for Beginners; with numerous Problems, and Tables of all the Natural Sines, &c. required for the Solution of the Exercises.....18mo. 1s.—KEY, 9d.
- ELEMENTS of MENSURATION**, simplified for the use of Beginners; with numerous Original Problems and Progressive Exercises. New Edition, Revised and Stereotyped 18mo. 1s.—KEY, 9d.
- TREATISE on LOGARITHMS**: with Copious Tables of Selected Logarithms; explaining simply the Nature and Use of Logarithms and *Logarithmic Tables*; the Principles and Methods of their Construction, and their Application; with numerous Examples and Exercises18mo. 1s.—KEY, 9d.

London, LONGMANS & CO.

APRIL 1879.

GENERAL LISTS OF NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED BY

MESSRS. LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.

PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

HISTORY, POLITICS, HISTORICAL MEMOIRS &c.

Armitage's Childhood of the English Nation. Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Arnold's Lectures on Modern History. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Bagshot's Literary Studies. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.

Buckle's History of Civilisation. 3 vols. crown 8vo. 24s.

Chesney's Indian Polity. 8vo. 21s.

— Waterloo Lectures. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Digby's Famine Campaign in India. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.

Durand's First Afghan War. Crown 8vo.

Epochs of Ancient History :—

Beesly's Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla. 2s. 6d.

Capes's Age of the Antonines. 2s. 6d.

— Early Roman Empire. 2s. 6d.

Cox's Athenian Empire. 2s. 6d.

— Greeks and Persians. 2s. 6d.

Curtels's Rise of the Macedonian Empire. 2s. 6d.

Inne's Rome to its Capture by the Gauls. 2s. 6d.

Merivale's Roman Triumvirates. 2s. 6d.

Sankey's Spartan and Theban Supremacies. 2s. 6d.

Epochs of English History :—

Creighton's Shilling History of England (Introductory Volume).
Fcp. 8vo. 1s.

Browning's Modern England, 1820-1875, 9d.

Cordery's Struggle against Absolute Monarchy, 1603-1688, 9d.

Creighton's (Mrs.) England a Continental Power, 1066-1216, 9d.

Creighton's (Rev. M.) Tudors and the Reformation, 1485-1603, 9d.

Rowley's Rise of the People, 1215-1485, 9d.

Rowley's Settlement of the Constitution, 1688-1778, 9d.

Tancock's England during the American & European Wars,
1778-1820, 9d.

York-Powell's Early England to the Conquest, 1s.

Epochs of Modern History :—

Church's Beginning of the Middle Ages, 2s. 6d.

Cox's Crusades, 2s. 6d.

Creighton's Age of Elizabeth, 2s. 6d.

Gairdner's Houses of Lancaster and York, 2s. 6d.

Gairdner's Puritan Revolution, 2s. 6d.

— Thirty Years' War, 2s. 6d.

Hale's Fall of the Stuarts, 2s. 6d.

Johnson's Normans in Europe, 2s. 6d.

London, LONGMANS & CO.

Epochs of Modern History—*continued.*

- Ladlow's War of American Independence, 2s. 6d.
 Morris's Age of Queen Anne, 2s. 6d.
 Seebom's Protestant Revolution, 2s. 6d.
 Stubbs's Early Plantagenets, 2s. 6d.
 Warburton's Edward III., 2s. 6d.
- Froude's English in Ireland in the 18th Century. 3 vols. 8vo. 48s.
 — History of England. 12 vols. 8vo. £8. 18s. 12 vols. crown 8vo. 72s.
 — Julius Cæsar, a Sketch. 8vo. 16s.
- Gairdner's Richard III. and Perkin Warbeck. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Gardiner's England under Buckingham and Charles I., 1624–1628. 2 vols. 8vo. 24s.
 — Personal Government of Charles I., 1628–1637. 2 vols. 8vo. 24s.
- Greville's Journal of the Reigns of George IV. & William IV. 3 vols. 8vo. 36s.
 Hayward's Selected Essays. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 12s.
 Hearn's Aryan Household. 8vo. 16s.
 Howarth's History of the Mongols. VOL. I. Royal 8vo. 28s.
 Ihne's History of Rome. 3 vols. 8vo. 45s.
 Lecky's History of England. Vols. I. & II., 1700–1760. 8vo. 36s.
 — — European Morals. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 16s.
 — Spirit of Rationalism in Europe. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 16s.
- Lewes's History of Philosophy. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.
 Longman's Lectures on the History of England. 8vo. 15s.
 — Life and Times of Edward III. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.
- Macaulay's Complete Works. 8 vols. 8vo. £5. 5s.
 — History of England:—
 Student's Edition. 2 vols. cr. 8vo. 12s. | Cabinet Edition. 8 vols. post 8vo. 48s.
 People's Edition. 4 vols. cr. 8vo. 16s. | Library Edition. 5 vols. 8vo. £4.
- Macaulay's Critical and Historical Essays. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.
 Cabinet Edition. 4 vols. post 8vo. 24s. | Library Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. 36s.
 People's Edition. 2 vols. cr. 8vo. 8s. | Student's Edition. 1 vol. cr. 8vo. 6s.
- May's Constitutional History of England. 3 vols. crown 8vo. 18s.
 — Democracy in Europe. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.
- Merivale's Fall of the Roman Republic. 12mo. 7s. 6d.
 — General History of Rome, B.C. 753—A.D. 476. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 — History of the Romans under the Empire. 8 vols. post 8vo. 48s.
- Phillips's Civil War in Wales and the Marches, 1642–1649. 8vo. 16s.
 Prothero's Life of Simon de Montfort. Crown 8vo. 9s.
- Rawlinson's Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy—The Sassanians. 8vo. 28s.
 — Sixth Oriental Monarchy—Parthia. 8vo. 16s.
- Seebom's Oxford Reformers—Colet, Erasmus, & More. 8vo. 14s.
 Sewall's Popular History of France. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Short's History of the Church of England. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Smith's Carthage and the Carthaginians. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Taylor's Manual of the History of India. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Todd's Parliamentary Government in England. 2 vols. 8vo. 37s.
 Trench's Realities of Irish Life. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
 Walpole's History of England. Vols. I. & II. 8vo. 36s.

BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS.

- Barke's Vicissitudes of Families. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 21s.
 Cates's Dictionary of General Biography. Medium 8vo. 25s.

London, LONGMANS & CO.

- Gleig's *Life of the Duke of Wellington*. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 Jerrold's *Life of Napoleon III.* Vols. I. to III. 8vo. price 18s. each.
 Jones's *Life of Admiral Frobisher*. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 Lecky's *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Life (The) of Sir William Fairbairn. Crown 8vo. 18s.
 Life (The) of Bishop Frampton. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Life (The) and Letters of Lord Macaulay. By his Nephew, G. Otto Trevelyan, M.P. Cabinet Edition, 2 vols. post 8vo. 12s. Library Edition, 2 vols. 8vo. 36s.
 Marshman's *Memoirs of Havelock*. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.
Memoirs of Anna Jameson, by Gerardine Macpherson. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
 Memorials of Charlotte Williams-Wynn. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Mendelssohn's *Letters*. Translated by Lady Wallace. 2 vols. cr. 8vo. 5s. each.
 Mill's (John Stuart) *Autobiography*. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 Nohl's *Life of Mozart*. Translated by Lady Wallace. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 21s.
 Pattison's *Life of Casanbon*. 8vo. 18s.
 Spedding's *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*. 7 vols. 8vo. £4. 4s.
 Stephen's *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Stigand's *Life, Works &c. of Heinrich Heine*. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.
 Zimmern's *Life and Works of Lessing*. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

CRITICISM, PHILOSOPHY POLITY &c.

- Amos's *View of the Science of Jurisprudence*. 8vo. 18s.
 — *Primer of the English Constitution*. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 Arnold's *Manual of English Literature*. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Bacon's *Essays*, with Annotations by Whately. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 — *Works*, edited by Spedding. 7 vols. 8vo. 78s. 6d.
 Bain's *Logic, Deductive and Inductive*. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 PART I. Deduction, 4s. | PART II. Induction, 6s. 6d.
 Blackley's *German and English Dictionary*. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Bolland & Lang's *Aristotle's Politics*. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Bullinger's *Lexicon and Concordance to the New Testament*. Medium 8vo. 30s.
 Comte's *System of Positive Polity*, or Treatise upon Sociology, translated :—
 VOL. I. *General View of Positivism and its Introductory Principles*. 8vo. 21s.
 VOL. II. *Social Statics, or the Abstract Laws of Human Order*. 14s.
 VOL. III. *Social Dynamics, or General Laws of Human Progress*. 21s.
 VOL. IV. *Theory of the Future of Man; with Early Essays*. 24s.
 Congreve's *Politics of Aristotle; Greek Text, English Notes*. 8vo. 18s.
 Contanseau's *Practical French & English Dictionary*. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 — *Pocket French and English Dictionary*. Square 18mo. 3s. 6d.
 Dowell's *Sketch of Taxes in England*. VOL. I. to 1642. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Farrar's *Language and Languages*. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 Grant's *Ethics of Aristotle, Greek Text, English Notes*. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.
 Hodgson's *Philosophy of Reflection*. 2 vols. 8vo. 21s.
 Kalisch's *Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament; with a New Translation*. Vol. I. *Genesis*, 8vo. 18s. or adapted for the General Reader, 12s. Vol. II. *Exodus*, 15s. or adapted for the General Reader, 12s. Vol. III. *Leviticus, Part I*. 15s. or adapted for the General Reader, 8s. Vol. IV. *Leviticus, Part II*. 15s. or adapted for the General Reader, 8s.

- Latham's Handbook of the English Language. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 — English Dictionary. 1 vol. medium 8vo. 24s. 4 vols. 4to. £7.
 Lewis on Authority in Matters of Opinion. 8vo. 14s.
 Liddell & Scott's Greek-English Lexicon. Crown 4to. 36s.
 — — — Abridged Greek-English Lexicon. Square 12mo. 7s. 6d.
 Longman's Pocket German and English Dictionary. 18mo. 5s.
 Macaulay's Speeches corrected by Himself. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.
 Macleod's Economical Philosophy. Vol. I. 8vo. 15s. Vol. II. Part I. 12s.
 Mill on Representative Government. Crown 8vo. 2s.
 — — Liberty. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d. Crown 8vo. 1s. 4d.
 Mill's Dissertations and Discussions. 4 vols. 8vo. 46s. 6d.
 — Essays on Unsettled Questions of Political Economy. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
 — Examination of Hamilton's Philosophy. 8vo. 16s.
 — Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive. 2 vols. 8vo. 25s.
 — Phenomena of the Human Mind. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.
 — Principles of Political Economy. 2 vols. 8vo. 30s. 1 vol. cr. 8vo. 5s.
 — Subjection of Women. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 — Utilitarianism. 8vo. 5s.
 Morell's Philosophical Fragments. Crown 8vo. 5s.
 Müller's (Max) Lectures on the Science of Language. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 16s.
 — Hibbert Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Noiré on Max Müller's Philosophy of Language. 8vo. 6s.
 Rich's Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Sanders's Institutes of Justinian, with English Notes. 8vo. 18s.
 Swinburne's Picture Logic. Post 8vo. 5s.
 Thomson's Outline of Necessary Laws of Thought. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 Tocqueville's Democracy in America, translated by Reeve. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 16s.
 Twiss's Law of Nations, 8vo. in Time of Peace, 12s. in Time of War, 21s.
 Whately's Elements of Logic. 8vo. 10s. 6d. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
 — — — Rhetoric. 8vo. 10s. 6d. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
 — English Synonymes. Fcp. 8vo. 3s.
 White & Riddle's Large Latin-English Dictionary. 4to. 28s.
 White's College Latin-English Dictionary. Medium 8vo. 15s.
 — Junior Student's Complete Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary.
 Square 12mo. 12s.
 Separately { The English-Latin Dictionary, 5s. 6d.
 { The Latin-English Dictionary, 7s. 6d.
 White's Middle-Class Latin-English Dictionary. Fcp. 8vo. 3s.
 Williams's Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle translated. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Yonge's Abridged English-Greek Lexicon. Square 12mo. 8s. 6d.
 — Large English-Greek Lexicon. 4to. 21s.
 Zeller's Socrates and the Socratic Schools. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 — Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics. Crown 8vo. 14s.
 — Plato and the Older Academy. Crown 8vo. 18s.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS & POPULAR METAPHYSICS.

- Arnold's (Dr. Thomas) Miscellaneous Works. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Bata's Emotions and the Will. 8vo. 15s.

London, LONGMANS & CO.

- Bain's Mental and Moral Science. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. Or separately: Part
Mental Science, 6s. 6d. Part II. Moral Science, 4s. 6d.
- Senses and the Intellect. 8vo. 15s.
- Buckle's Miscellaneous and Posthumous Works. 3 vols. 8vo. 52s. 6d.
- Conington's Miscellaneous Writings. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.
- Edwards's Specimens of English Prose. 16mo. 2s. 6d.
- Froude's Short Studies on Great Subjects. 3 vols. crown 8vo. 18s.
- German Home Life, reprinted from *Fraser's Magazine*. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Hume's Essays, edited by Green & Grose. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.
- Treatise of Human Nature, edited by Green & Grose. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.
- Macaulay's Miscellaneous Writings. 2 vols. 8vo. 21s. 1 vol. crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Writings and Speeches. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Mill's Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.
- Müller's (Max) Chips from a German Workshop. 4 vols. 8vo. 58s.
- Mullinger's Schools of Charles the Great. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Rogers's Defence of the Eclipse of Faith. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Eclipse of Faith. Fcp. 8vo. 5s.
- Selections from the Writings of Lord Macaulay. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- The Essays and Contributions of A. K. H. B. Crown 8vo.

- Autumn Holidays of a Country Parson. 3s. 6d.
- Changed Aspects of Unchanged Truths. 3s. 6d.
- Common-place Philosopher in Town and Country. 3s. 6d.
- Counsel and Comfort spoken from a City Pulpit. 3s. 6d.
- Critical Essays of a Country Parson. 3s. 6d.
- Graver Thoughts of a Country Parson. Three Series, 3s. 6d. each.
- Landscapes, Churches, and Moralities. 3s. 6d.
- Leisure Hours in Town. 3s. 6d.
- Lessons of Middle Age. 3s. 6d.
- Present-day Thoughts. 3s. 6d.
- Recreations of a Country Parson. Three Series, 3s. 6d. each.
- Seaside Musings on Sundays and Week-Days. 3s. 6d.
- Sunday Afternoons in the Parish Church of a University City. 3s. 6d.

Wit and Wisdom of the Rev. Sydney Smith 16mo. 3s. 6d.

ASTRONOMY, METEOROLOGY, POPULAR GEOGRAPHY &c.

- Dove's Law of Storms, translated by Scott. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Herschel's Outlines of Astronomy. Square crown 8vo. 12s.
- Keith Johnston's Dictionary of Geography, or Gazetteer. 8vo. 42s.
- Nelson's Work on the Moon. Medium 8vo. 31s. 6d.
- Proctor's Essays on Astronomy. 8vo. 12s.
- Larger Star Atlas. Folio, 15s. or Maps only, 12s. 6d.
- Moon. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- New Star Atlas. Crown 8vo. 5s.
- Orbs Around Us. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Other Worlds than Ours. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Saturn and its System. 8vo. 14s.
- Sun. Crown 8vo. 14s.
- Transits of Venus, Past and Coming. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- Treatise on the Cycloid and Cycloidal Curves. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

London, LONGMANS & CO.

- Proctor's Universe of Stars. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Schellen's Spectrum Analysis. 8vo. 28s.
 Smith's Air and Rain. 8vo. 24s.
 The Public Schools Atlas of Ancient Geography. Imperial 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 — — — Atlas of Modern Geography. Imperial 8vo. 5s.
 Webb's Celestial Objects for Common Telescopes. New Edition in preparation.

NATURAL HISTORY & POPULAR SCIENCE.

- Arnott's Elements of Physics or Natural Philosophy. Crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.
 Brande's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art. 3 vols. medium 8vo. 68s.
 Decaisne and Le Maout's General System of Botany. Imperial 8vo. 81s. 6d.
 Evans's Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain. 8vo. 28s.
 Ganot's Elementary Treatise on Physics, by Atkinson. Large crown 8vo. 15s.
 — Natural Philosophy, by Atkinson. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Gore's Art of Scientific Discovery. Crown 8vo. 15s.
 Grove's Correlation of Physical Forces. 8vo. 15s.
 Hartwig's Aerial World. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 — Polar World. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 — Sea and its Living Wonders. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 — Subterranean World. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 — Tropical World. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Haughton's Principles of Animal Mechanics. 8vo. 21s.
 Hear's Primæval World of Switzerland. 2 vols. 8vo. 16s.
 Helmholtz's Lectures on Scientific Subjects. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
 Helmholtz on the Sensations of Tone, by Ellis. 8vo. 36s.
 Hemmley's Handbook of Trees, Shrubs, & Herbaceous Plants. Medium 8vo. 12s.
 Hullah's Lectures on the History of Modern Music. 8vo. 8s. 6d.
 — Transition Period of Musical History. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Keller's Lake Dwellings of Switzerland, by Lee. 2 vols. royal 8vo. 42s.
 Kirby and Spence's Introduction to Entomology. Crown 8vo. 5s.
 Lloyd's Treatise on Magnetism. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 — — on the Wave-Theory of Light. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 London's Encyclopædia of Plants. 8vo. 42s.
 Lubbock on the Origin of Civilisation & Primitive Condition of Man. 8vo. 18s.
 Macalister's Zoology and Morphology of Vertebrate Animals. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Nicols' Puzzle of Life. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.
 Owen's Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of the Vertebrate Animals. 3 vols. 8vo. 73s. 6d.
 Proctor's Light Science for Leisure Hours. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. each.
 Rivers's Rose Amateur's Guide. Fcp. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
 Stanley's Familiar History of Birds. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
 Text-Books of Science, Mechanical and Physical.
 Abney's Photography, small 8vo. 3s. 6d.
 Anderson's (Sir John) Strength of Materials, 3s. 6d.
 Armstrong's Organic Chemistry, 3s. 6d.
 Barry's Railway Appliances, 3s. 6d.
 Bloxam's Metals, 3s. 6d.
 Goodeve's Elements of Mechanism, 3s. 6d.
 — Principles of Mechanics, 3s. 6d.
 Gore's Electro-Metallurgy, 6s.
 Griffin's Algebra and Trigonometry, 3s. 6d.

London, LONGMANS & CO.

Text-Books of Science—*continued.*

- Jenkin's Electricity and Magnetism, 3s. 6d.
 Maxwell's Theory of Heat, 8s. 6d.
 Merrifield's Technical Arithmetic and Mensuration, 3s. 6d.
 Miller's Inorganic Chemistry, 8s. 6d.
 Preoce & Sivewright's Telegraphy, 8s. 6d.
 Rutley's Study of Rocks, 4s. 6d.
 Shelley's Workshop Appliances, 3s. 6d.
 Thomé's Structural and Physiological Botany, 6s.
 Thorpe's Quantitative Chemical Analysis, 4s. 6d.
 Thorpe & Muir's Qualitative Analysis, 3s. 6d.
 Tilden's Chemical Philosophy, 3s. 6d.
 Unwin's Machine Design, 8s. 6d.
 Watson's Plane and Solid Geometry, 3s. 6d.
- Tyndall on Sound. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 — Contributions to Molecular Physics. 8vo. 16s.
 — Fragments of Science. New Edit. 2 vols. crown 8vo. [In the press.]
 — Heat a Mode of Motion. Crown 8vo.
 — Lectures on Electrical Phenomena. Crown 8vo. 1s. sewed, 1s. 6d. cloth.
 — Lectures on Light. Crown 8vo. 1s. sewed, 1s. 6d. cloth.
 — Lectures on Light delivered in America. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 — Lessons in Electricity. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- Von Cotta on Rocks, by Lawrence. Post 8vo. 14s.
 Woodward's Geology of England and Wales. Crown 8vo. 14s.
 Wood's Bible Animals. With 112 Vignettes. 8vo. 14s.
 — Homes Without Hands. 8vo. 14s.
 — Insects Abroad. 8vo. 14s.
 — Insects at Home. With 700 Illustrations. 8vo. 14s.
 — Out of Doors, or Articles on Natural History. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 — Strange Dwellings. With 60 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

CHEMISTRY & PHYSIOLOGY.

- Anerbach's Anthracen, translated by W. Crookes, F.R.S. 8vo. 12s.
 Buckton's Health in the House; Lectures on Elementary Physiology. Fcp. 8vo. 2s.
 Crookes's Handbook of Dyeing and Calico Printing. 8vo. 42s.
 — Select Methods in Chemical Analysis. Crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.
 Kingzett's Animal Chemistry. 8vo. 18s.
 — History, Products and Processes of the Alkali Trade. 8vo. 12s.
 Miller's Elements of Chemistry, Theoretical and Practical. 3 vols. 8vo. Part I. Chemical Physics, 16s. Part II. Inorganic Chemistry, 24s. Part III. Organic Chemistry, New Edition in the press.
 Watt's Dictionary of Chemistry. 7 vols. medium 8vo. £10. 16s. 6d.
 — Third Supplementary Volume, in Two Parts. PART I. 36s.

THE FINE ARTS & ILLUSTRATED EDITIONS.

- Bewick's Select Fables of Æsop and others. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. demy 8vo. 18s.
 Doyle's Fairyland; Pictures from the Elf-World. Folio, 15s.
 Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art. 6 vols. square crown 8vo.
 Legends of the Madonna. 1 vol. 21s.
 — — — Monastic Orders. 1 vol. 21s.
 — — — Saints and Martyrs. 2 vols. 31s. 6d.
 — — — Saviour. Completed by Lady Eastlake. 2 vols. 42s.

- Longman's Three Cathedrals Dedicated to St. Paul. Square crown 8vo. 21s.
 Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome. With 90 Illustrations. Fcp. 4to. 21s.
 Macfarren's Lectures on Harmony. 8vo. 12s.
 Miniature Edition of Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome. Imp. 16mo. 10s. 6d.
 Moore's Irish Melodies. With 161 Plates by D. Macleise, R.A. Super-royal 8vo. 21s.
 — Lalla Rookh. Tenniel's Edition. With 68 Illustrations. Fcp. 4to. 21s.
 Northcote and Brownlow's Roma Sotteranea. PART I. 8vo. 24s.
 Perry on Greek and Roman Sculpture. 8vo. [In preparation].
 Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School. 8vo. 16s.

THE USEFUL ARTS, MANUFACTURES & C.

- Bourne's Catechism of the Steam Engine. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.
 — Examples of Steam, Air, and Gas Engines. 4to. 70s.
 — Handbook of the Steam Engine. Fcp. 8vo. 9s.
 — Recent Improvements in the Steam Engine. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.
 — Treatise on the Steam Engine. 4to. 42s.
 Cressy's Encyclopædia of Civil Engineering. 8vo. 42s.
 Cullley's Handbook of Practical Telegraphy. 8vo. 16s.
 Eastlake's Household Taste in Furniture, &c. Square crown 8vo. 14s.
 Fairbairn's Useful Information for Engineers. 3 vols. crown 8vo. 31s. 6d.
 — Applications of Cast and Wrought Iron. 8vo. 16s.
 — Mills and Millwork. 1 vol. 8vo. 25s.
 Gwilt's Encyclopædia of Architecture. 8vo. 52s. 6d.
 Hobson's Amateur Mechanics Practical Handbook. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
 Hoskold's Engineer's Valuing Assistant. 8vo. 31s. 6d.
 Karl's Metallurgy, adapted by Crookes and Röhrig. 3 vols. 8vo. £4. 19s.
 Loudon's Encyclopædia of Agriculture. 8vo. 21s.
 — — — Gardening. 8vo. 21s.
 Mitchell's Manual of Practical Assaying. 8vo. 31s. 6d.
 Northcott's Lathes and Turning. 8vo. 18s.
 Payen's Industrial Chemistry, translated from Stohmann and Engler's German Edition, by Dr. J. D. Barry. Edited by B. H. Paul, Ph.D. 8vo. 42s.
 Stoney's Theory of Strains in Girders. Roy. 8vo. 36s.
 Thomas on Coal, Mine-Gases and Ventilation. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Ure's Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, & Mines. 4 vols. medium 8vo. £7. 7s.

RELIGIOUS & MORAL WORKS.

- Abbey & Overton's English Church in the Eighteenth Century. 2 vols. 8vo. 36s.
 Arnold's (Rev. Dr. Thomas) Sermons. 6 vols. crown 8vo. 5s. each.
 Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Entire Works. With Life by Bishop Heber. Edited by the Rev. C. P. Eden. 10 vols. 8vo. £5. 5s.
 Boulton's Commentary on the 39 Articles. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 Browne's (Bishop) Exposition of the 39 Articles. 8vo. 16s.
 Conybeare & Howson's Life and Letters of St. Paul :—
 Library Edition, with all the Original Illustrations, Maps, Landscapes on Steel, Woodcuts, &c. 2 vols. 4to. 42s.
 Intermediate Edition, with a Selection of Maps, Plates, and Woodcuts. 2 vols. square crown 8vo. 21s.
 Student's Edition, revised and condensed, with 46 Illustrations and Maps. 1 vol. crown 8vo. 9s.
 Calaneo's Lectures on the Pentateuch and the Moabite Stone. 8vo. 12s.

London, LONGMANS & CO.

- Colenso on the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 — — PART VII. completion of the larger Work. 8vo. 24s.
 D'Aubigné's Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin. 8 vols. 8vo. £6. 12s.
 Drummond's Jewish Messiah. 8vo. 15s.
 Ellicott's (Bishop) Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles. 8vo. Galatians, 8s. 6d.
 Ephesians, 8s. 6d. Pastoral Epistles, 10s. 6d. Philippians, Colossians, and
 Philemon, 10s. 6d. Thessalonians, 7s. 6d.
 Ellicott's Lectures on the Life of our Lord. 8vo. 12s.
 Ewald's History of Israel, translated by Carpenter. 5 vols. 8vo. 63s.
 — Antiquities of Israel, translated by Solly. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
 Goldziher's Mythology among the Hebrews. 8vo. 16s.
 Jukes's Types of Genesis. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 — Second Death and the Restitution of all Things. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.
 Kalisch's Bible Studies. PART I. the Prophecies of Balaam. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 — — — PART II. the Book of Jonah. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Keith's Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion derived from the Fulfillment of Prophecy. Square 8vo. 12s. 6d. Post 8vo. 6s.
 Kuenen on the Prophets and Prophecy in Israel. 8vo. 21s.
 Lyra Germanica. Hymns translated by Miss Winkworth. Fcp. 8vo. 5s.
 Manning's Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost. 8vo. 8s. 6d.
 Martineau's Endeavours after the Christian Life. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 — Hymns of Praise and Prayer. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. 82mo. 1s. 6d.
 — Sermons; Hours of Thought on Sacred Things. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Merivale's (Dean) Lectures on Early Church History. Crown 8vo. 5s.
 Mill's Three Essays on Religion. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Monsell's Spiritual Songs for Sundays and Holidays. Fcp. 8vo. 5s. 18mo. 2s.
 Müller's (Max) Lectures on the Science of Religion. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Newman's Apologia pro Vita Sua. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 O'Connor's New Testament Commentaries. Crown 8vo. Epistle to the Romans, 3s. 6d. Epistle to the Hebrews, 4s. 6d. St. John's Gospel, 10s. 6d.
 One Hundred Holy Songs, &c. Square fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
 Passing Thoughts on Religion. By Miss Sewell. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
 Sewell's (Miss) Preparation for the Holy Communion. 32mo. 3s.
 Shipley's Ritual of the Altar. Imperial 8vo. 42s.
 Supernatural Religion. 3 vols. 8vo. 88s.
 Thoughts for the Age. By Miss Sewell. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
 Vaughan's Trident, Crescent, and Cross; the Religious History of India. 8vo. 9s. 6d.
 Whately's Lessons on the Christian Evidences. 18mo. 6d.
 White's Four Gospels in Greek, with Greek-English Lexicon. 32mo. 5s.

TRAVELS, VOYAGES &c.

- Ball's Alpine Guide. 3 vols. post 8vo. with Maps and Illustrations:—I. Western Alps, 6s. 6d. II. Central Alps, 7s. 6d. III. Eastern Alps, 10s. 6d.
 Ball on Alpine Travelling, and on the Geology of the Alps, 1s.
 Baker's Rifle and the Hound in Ceylon. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 — Eight Years in Ceylon. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Beat's Freak of Freedom, or the Republic of San Marino. Crown 8vo.
 Brassey's Voyage in the Yacht 'Sunbeam.' Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Edwards's (A. B.) Thousand Miles up the Nile. Imperial 8vo. 42s.

- Evans's Illyrian Letters. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Grohman's Tyrol and the Tyroleese. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 Indian Alps (The). By a Lady Pioneer. Imperial 8vo. 42s.
 Lefroy's Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermuda Islands. 2 vols. royal 8vo. 60s.
 Miller and Skertchley's Fenland Past and Present. Royal 8vo. 81s. 6d. Large Paper, 50s.
 Noble's Cape and South Africa. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
 Packe's Guide to the Pyrenees, for Mountaineers. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 The Alpine Club Map of Switzerland. In four sheets. 42s.
 Wood's Discoveries at Ephesus. Imperial 8vo. 63s.

WORKS OF FICTION.

- Becker's Charicles; Private Life among the Ancient Greeks. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 — Gallus; Roman Scenes of the Time of Augustus. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Cabinet Edition of Stories and Tales by Miss Sewell:—

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Amy Herbert, 2s. 6d. | Ivors, 2s. 6d. |
| Cleve Hall, 2s. 6d. | Katharine Ashton, 2s. 6d. |
| The Earl's Daughter, 2s. 6d. | Laneton Parsonage, 3s. 6d. |
| Experience of Life, 2s. 6d. | Margaret Percival, 3s. 6d. |
| Gertrude, 2s. 6d. | Ursula, 3s. 6d. |

Novels and Tales by the Right Hon. the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G. Cabinet Edition, complete in Ten Volumes, crown 8vo. price £3.

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| Lothair, 6s. | Henrietta Temple, 6s. |
| Coningsby, 6s. | Contarini Fleming, 6s. |
| Sybil, 6s. | Alroy, Ixion, &c. 6s. |
| Tancred, 6s. | The Young Duke, &c. 6s. |
| Venetia, 6s. | Vivian Grey, 6s. |

The Modern Novelist's Library. Each Work in crown 8vo. A Single Volume, complete in itself, price 2s. boards, or 2s. 6d. cloth:—

By the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.

- Lothair.
 Coningsby.
 Sybil.
 Tancred.
 Venetia.
 Henrietta Temple.
 Contarini Fleming.
 Alroy, Ixion, &c.
 The Young Duke, &c.
 Vivian Grey.

By Anthony Trollope.
 Barchester Towers.
 The Warden.

By the Author of 'the Rose Garden.'
 Unawares.

By Major Whyte-Melville.

- Digby Grand.
 General Bounce.
 Kate Coventry.
 The Gladiators.
 Good for Nothing.
 Holmby House.
 The Interpreter.
 The Queen's Maries.
 By the Author of 'the Atelier du Lys.'
 Mademoiselle Mori.
 The Atelier du Lys.
 By Various Writers.
 Atherstone Priory.
 The Burgomaster's Family.
 Elsa and her Vulture.
 The Six Sisters of the Valley.

Lord Beaconsfield's Novels and Tales. 10 vols. cloth extra, gilt edges, 30s.

Whispers from Fairy Land. By the Right Hon. E. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen M.P. With Nine Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Higgledy-Piggledy; or, Stories for Everybody and Everybody's Children. By the Right Hon. E. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M.P. With Nine Illustrations from Designs by R. Doyle. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

London, LONGMANS & CO.

POETRY & THE DRAMA.

- Bailey's Festus, a Poem. Crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.
 Bowdler's Family Shakspeare. Medium 8vo. 14s. 6 vols. fcp. 8vo. 21s.
 Brian Boru, a Tragedy, by J. T. B. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 Cayley's Iliad of Homer, Homometrically translated. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
 Conington's Æneid of Virgil, translated into English Verse. Crown 8vo. 9s.
 Cooper's Tales from Euripides. Small 8vo.
 Edwards's Poetry-Book of Elder Poets. 16mo. 2s. 6d.
 — Poetry-Book of Modern Poets. 16mo. 2s. 6d.
 Ingelow's Poems. First Series, Illustrated Edition. Fcp. 4to. 21s.
 Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome, with Ivory and the Armada. 16mo. 3s. 6d.
 Petrarch's Sonnets and Stanzas, translated by C. B. Cayley, B.A. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Poems. By Jean Ingelow. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. 10s.
 First Series. 'Divided,' 'The Star's Monument,' &c. 5s.
 Second Series. 'A Story of Doom,' 'Gladys and her Island,' &c. 5s.
 Southey's Poetical Works. Medium 8vo. 14s.
 Yonge's Horatii Opera, Library Edition. 8vo. 21s.

RURAL SPORTS, HORSE & CATTLE MANAGEMENT &c.

- Blaine's Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports. 8vo. 21s.
 Dobson on the Ox, his Diseases and their Treatment. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Fitzwygram's Horses and Stables. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Francis's Book on Angling, or Treatise on Fishing. Post 8vo. 15s.
 Malet's Annals of the Road, and Nimrod's Essays on the Road. Medium 8vo. 21s.
 Miles's Horse's Foot, and How to Keep it Sound. Imperial 8vo. 12s. 6d.
 — Plain Treatise on Horse-Shoeing. Post 8vo. 2s. 6d.
 — Stables and Stable-Fittings. Imperial 8vo. 15s.
 — Remarks on Horses' Teeth. Post 8vo. 1s. 6d.
 Neville's Horses and Riding. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 Reynardson's Down the Road. Medium 8vo. 21s.
 Ronalds's Fly-Fisher's Entomology. 8vo. 14s.
 Stonehenge's Dog in Health and Disease. Square crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 — Greyhound. Square crown 8vo. 15s.
 Youatt's Work on the Dog. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
 — — — Horse. 8vo. 6s.
 Wilcocks's Sea-Fisherman. Post 8vo. 12s. 6d.

WORKS OF UTILITY & GENERAL INFORMATION.

- Acton's Modern Cookery for Private Families. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.
 Black's Practical Treatise on Brewing. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Buckton's Food and Home Cookery. Crown 8vo. 2s.
 Bull on the Maternal Management of Children. Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
 Bull's Hints to Mothers on the Management of their Health during the Period of Pregnancy and in the Lying-in Room. Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
 Campbell-Walker's Correct Card, or How to Play at Whist. 83mo. 2s. 6d.
 Crump's English Manual of Banking. 8vo. 15s.
 Cunningham's Conditions of Social Well-Being. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Handbook of Gold and Silver, by an Indian Official. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
 Johnson's (W. & J. H.) Patentee's Manual. Fourth Edition. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 Longman's Chess Openings. Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

- Macleod's Economics for Beginners. Small crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
 — Theory and Practice of Banking. 2 vols. 8vo. 26s.
 — Elements of Banking. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s.
 M'Culloch's Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation. 8vo. 63s.
 Maunder's Biographical Treasury. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.
 — Historical Treasury. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.
 — Scientific and Literary Treasury. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.
 — Treasury of Bible Knowledge. Edited by the Rev. J. Ayre, M.A. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.
 — Treasury of Botany. Edited by J. Lindley, F.R.S. and T. Moore, F.L.S. Two Parts, fcp. 8vo. 12s.
 — Treasury of Geography. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.
 — Treasury of Knowledge and Library of Reference. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.
 — Treasury of Natural History. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.
 Pereira's Materia Medica, by Bentley and Redwood. 8vo. 25s.
 Pewtner's Comprehensive Specifier; Building-Artificers' Work. Conditions and Agreements. Crown 8vo. 6s.
 Pierce's Three Hundred Chess Problems and Studies. Fcp. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 Pole's Theory of the Modern Scientific Game of Whist. Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
 Scott's Farm Valuer. Crown 8vo. 5s.
 Smith's Handbook for Midwives. Crown 8vo. 5s.
 The Cabinet Lawyer, a Popular Digest of the Laws of England. Fcp. 8vo. 9s.
 West on the Diseases of Infancy and Childhood. 8vo. 18s.
 Willich's Popular Tables for ascertaining the Value of Property. Post 8vo. 10s.
 Wilson on Banking Reform. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 — on the Resources of Modern Countries 2 vols. 8vo. 24s.

MUSICAL WORKS BY JOHN HULLAH, LL.D.

- Chromatic Scale, with the Inflected Syllables, on Large Sheet. 1s. 6d.
 Card of Chromatic Scale. 1d.
 Exercises for the Cultivation of the Voice. For Soprano or Tenor, 2s. 6d.
 Grammar of Musical Harmony. Royal 8vo. 2 Parts, each 1s. 6d.
 Exercises to Grammar of Musical Harmony. 1s.
 Grammar of Counterpoint. Part I. super-royal 8vo. 2s. 6d.
 Hullah's Manual of Singing. Parts I. & II. 2s. 6d.; or together, 5s.
 Exercises and Figures contained in Parts I. and II. of the Manual. Books I. & II. each 8d.
 Large Sheets, containing the Figures in Part I. of the Manual. Nos. 1 to 8 in a Parcel. 6s.
 Large Sheets, containing the Exercises in Part I. of the Manual. Nos. 9 to 40, in Four Parcels of Eight Nos. each, per Parcel. 6s.
 Large Sheets, the Figures in Part II. Nos. 41 to 52 in a Parcel, 9s.
 Hymns for the Young, set to Music. Royal 8vo. 8d.
 Infant School Songs. 6d.
 Notation, the Musical Alphabet. Crown 8vo. 6d.
 Old English Songs for Schools, Harmonised. 6d.
 Rudiments of Musical Grammar. Royal 8vo. 8s.
 School Songs for 2 and 3 Voices. 2 Books, 8vo. each 6d.
 Time and Tune in the Elementary School. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
 Exercises and Figures in the same. Crown 8vo. 1s. or 2 Parts, 6d each.

London, LONGMANS & CO.



